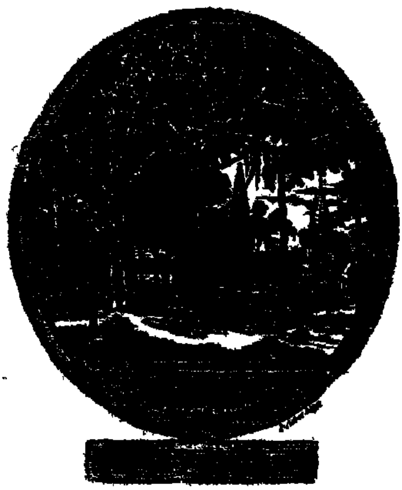
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TRANSLATED BY MARGARET SMITH, M A, D.LITT.

(*Concluded from p. 200.*)

CHAPTER III

ON THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE AND ITS DIVISIONS

Know that Knowledge can be divided into two types, one religious knowledge (شرعى) and the other intellectual (عقلى), and most of the branches of religious knowledge are intellectual in the opinion of him who knows them, and most of the branches of intellectual knowledge belong to the religious code, in the opinion of him who understands them. "And he, to whom God does not commit light, has no light." [1]

1. The first type of Knowledge, which is religious knowledge, is divided into two classes, (*a*) one of them concerned with fundamental principles (الاصول), and it is the knowledge of the Unity, and this knowledge is concerned with the Essence of God Most High and His eternal attributes and His creative attributes and His essential attributes, which are set forth in the Divine Names, as mentioned. It is concerned also with the states of the Prophets and the Imams after them and the Companions. It deals, further, with the states of death and life and with the states of the Resurrection and the Summons and the Assembly

[1] Sūra xxiv, 40.

and the Judgment and the Vision of God Most High. Those who concern themselves with this type of knowledge have recourse first to the verses of the Qur'ān, which is the Word of God Most High, then to the traditions of the Apostle (may God bless him), then to intellectual proofs and analogy; and they took the premises of argumentation, syllogistic and eristic, and what belongs to them both, from the philosophers, and they placed most terms in other than their (right) place. In their expressions, they use such phrases as substance and accident and direction and consideration and demonstration and argument, and the meaning of each of these terms differs with each group, so that by "substance" the philosophers mean one thing and the Ṣūfīs mean another, and the scholastics something else, and so on. But it is not the purpose of this treatise to verify the meaning of the terms according to the opinions of each group and we will not enter upon it.

Now these people are specialists in the discussion of fundamental principles and the knowledge of the Unity, and their title is the *Mutakallimūn*, for the name of *kalām* has become known in connection with the knowledge of the Unity Included also in the knowledge of fundamental principles is interpretation, for the Qur'ān is one of the greatest of things, and the most eloquent and most precious. It contains many obscure and difficult passages, which not every mind can comprehend, only that one to whom God has granted understanding of His Word. The Prophet (God bless him) has said: "There is not a verse of the Qur'ān but has a literal sense and an allegorical sense, and its allegorical sense includes another allegorical meaning up to seven allegorical meanings," and in one account, "up to nine." The Prophet said also: "Every word of the Qur'ān has a moral sense and every moral sense has also a mystical sense"[1] Now in the Qur'ān God has given information about all types of knowledge, both what is manifest of existent things and what is hidden, what is small

[1] Cf. *Kitāb al-Arba'īn*, p. 48, and L. Massignon, *La Passion d'al-Ḥallāj*, p. 704.

among them and what is great and what is perceptible and what is intelligible among them. There is an allusion to this in the Word of God, where it is stated: "There is neither a green thing nor a dry, but it is (set forth) in a clear book." [1] And God said also: "Let them meditate on His verses and let men of understanding remember." [2]

Since the subject-matter of the Qur'ān is the greatest of subjects, what commentator has done justice to it? Or what theologian has fulfilled his responsibility to it? Each one of the commentators enters upon the explanation of it in accordance with his ability, and embarks upon the exposition of it according to the capacity of his mind, and in accordance with the amount of his knowledge. For all of them said—and they spoke truly—that knowledge of the Qur'ān gives an indication of the knowledge of fundamental principles and what is derived from them, and religious and intellectual knowledge. Now the commentator ought to consider the Qur'ān from the point of view of the language and from the point of view of metaphor and from the point of view of the composition of the vocables: also from the point of view of the particulars of the grammar and of the usage of the Arabs and of the subject-matter of the philosophers and of the doctrine of the Ṣūfīs, so that his interpretation comes near to the truth of things. But if he confines himself to one point of view and is content in his exposition with one science, he has not fulfilled his duty of explaining it fully: and he finds himself opposed by the evidence of faith and the establishment of the proof.

Included also in the knowledge of fundamentals is the knowledge of the traditions, for the Prophet (God bless him) was the most eloquent of Arabs and foreigners, and was a teacher to whom revelation was made by God Most High, and his intelligence encompassed all things, high and low, and beneath every one of his words, yea, every utterance of his, are to be found seas of mysteries and treasuries of hints, therefore the

[1] Sūra vi, 59. [2] Sūra xxxviii, 28.

knowledge of his traditions and the understanding of his sayings is a great matter and an important thing. No one is able to have a thorough knowledge of the Prophet's teaching, except by training himself to imitation of the Lawgiver, and removing distortion from his heart through the straightening effect of the law of the Prophet (God bless him).

So he who wishes to discuss the interpretation of the Qur'ān and the elucidation of the Traditions and to discuss rightly, must first gain a knowledge of the language, and secure a thorough mastery of the science of grammar and be well-grounded in the inflection and declension of Arabic, and be versed in the different conjugations. For knowledge of the language is a ladder and a staircase to all the sciences, and for him who does not know the language there is no way to the study of the sciences, for he who wishes to ascend to a roof must first set up a staircase, then after that he can ascend. Now knowledge of the language is an important means and a great staircase, and he who seeks for knowledge cannot dispense with a good command of the language, for knowledge of the language is the most fundamental thing. Knowledge of the language begins with the understanding of the particles, which are represented by the separate words, and after that comes understanding of the verbs, such as the triliteral and the quadriliteral and others. It is also incumbent upon the philologist that he should investigate the poetry of the Arabs and the worthiest of it and the most perfect is the poetry of the *Jahiliyya*, for it provides a means of discipline for the mind, and refreshment for the soul. Then, after the study of that poetry and the particles and the names, it is necessary to acquire a knowledge of grammar, for in the knowledge of the language it takes the place of the lever balance for gold and silver, and logic for the science of philosophy, and prosody for poetry, and the yardstick for clothes, and the measure for grain, for in anything which is not weighed in a balance excess and deficiency is not clear. Now the knowledge of the language is a means to a knowledge of interpretation and of the

traditions, and the knowledge of the Qur'ān and the traditions is a guide to the knowledge of the Unity, and the knowledge of the Unity is that by which alone the souls of God's servants find salvation, and there is no deliverance from the fear of the Resurrection except thereby. This, then, is an analysis of the knowledge of fundamental principles.

(b) The second class of religious knowledge is the knowledge of what is derived (i.e. from these principles), because knowledge is either theoretical or practical and the knowledge of fundamental principles is theoretic and the knowledge of their consequences is practical, and this practical knowledge includes three obligations :—

(i) The first is what is due to God, and it consists of the essentials of religious devotion, such as purification, prayer, almsgiving, the pilgrimage, the Holy War, and devotional readings ; also the observance of feast days and the Friday prayers, and what is additional to these in the way of works of supererogation and obligatory duties.

(ii) The second is what is due to one's fellow-servants, and it includes all kinds of customary usages and takes two directions

(a) One of them includes transactions, such as buying and selling, and partnership and compensatory gifts, and the lending of money and borrowing it, and retaliation and all kinds of blood-wit.

(b) The second of them is contractual obligation, such as marriage and divorce and manumission and servitude and the law of inheritance and what is involved in these.

The term "jurisprudence" applies to these two obligations : and jurisprudence is a noble science, profitable, universal in application, necessary ; men cannot do without it because of the universal necessity for it.

(iii) The third obligation is what is due to the self, and it is the knowledge of moral qualities. Now moral qualities are either blameworthy and ought to be rejected and abandoned, or they are praiseworthy and ought to be acquired, and the

self should be adorned with them. and what is blameworthy among qualities and what is praiseworthy of them is made plain in the Word of God Most High and in the traditions of the Prophet (God bless him). He who assumed a single one of them entered Paradise.

2. As for the second type of knowledge, which is intellectual knowledge, it is a knowledge which is difficult, intricate, including what is wrong and what is right, and it is divided into three classes

(i) The first class, which is the beginning, comprises the science of mathematics and logic. As for mathematics, it includes arithmetic and is concerned with numbers and geometry, which is the science of dimensions and figures, and astronomy, by which I mean the science of the heavenly bodies and the stars and the regions of the earth, and what is connected therewith From it is derived the science of astrology and the determination of the times of births and horoscopes. From mathematics is derived also the art of music, which is concerned with the relation of chords.

As for logic, it is concerned with definition and description in regard to things which are apprehended by the imagination, and it investigates things from the point of view of analogy and proof, in respect of the exact sciences. For logic follows this method, beginning with the simple terms, then proceeding to the compound terms. then to propositions, then to the syllogism, then to the moods of the syllogism, then to the search for the proof. which is the end of logic.

(ii) The second class, which is in the middle, is natural science, and the natural scientist is concerned with the universe and the component parts of the world, and substances, and accidents and with motion and rest, and the states of the heavens, and action and reaction This science gives rise to the investigation of the states of the different classes of existent things, and the types of selves, and the humours, and the number of the senses and the way in which they perceive sensible things. Then it leads to the consideration of

the science of medicine, which is the science of bodies, and infirmities and medicines and remedies, and what belongs to them. Among its branches, also, is the science of meteorology and the science of mineralogy, and the recognition of the properties of things, and it extends to the science of alchemy, which is the treatment of ores that are ailing (i.e. base metals) in the interior of mines.

(iii) The third class, which is the highest, is the investigation of existence, then its division into the self-existent (necessary) and the contingent, then the consideration of the Creator and His Essence and all His attributes and His activities, and His command and His ordinance and His decree, and His appointment of the manifestation of existent things. In addition to that it includes the consideration of the celestial beings and simple substances and the incorporeal intelligences and the perfected souls. Then comes consideration of the states of the angels and the demons, and this extends to the knowledge of prophecy and the matter of miracles (معجزات) and the conditions of thaumaturgic gifts (كرامات) and the consideration of the souls in bliss, and the state of sleep and being awake, and the stations of dreaming. From it is derived the science of talismans and enchantments [1] and what belongs to them. Now these sciences have divisions and accidents and degrees: for a clear explanation it would be necessary to give extensive proofs, but brevity is more fitting.

CHAPTER IV

The Knowledge of the Ṣūfīs

Know that intellectual knowledge is simple in itself, but it gives rise to a composite knowledge, which includes all the states of the two simple types of knowledge, and that composite knowledge is the knowledge of the Ṣūfīs and the Way to attainment of their mystic states. For they have a special science of a plain Way of life which combines the two types of

[1] Reading النيرنجات. The Cairo text of A.H. 1343 reads الزيجات.

knowledge, and this science includes knowledge of the mystic state and the spiritual condition (الوقت)[1] and audition and ecstasy and longing and intoxication and sobriety and affirmation and effacement and poverty and the passing-away of self (الفناء), and also saintship and discipleship and (the position of) the Shaykh and the disciple and what is involved in their states, together with spiritual illumination (الواردات),[2] and endowments and stations, and we will speak of these three types of knowledge in a special book, if God will. But now it is our intention only to enumerate the sciences and their different classes, in this treatise, and we have limited it and have enumerated them briefly, in order to summarize So let him who desires more (than this) and a full exposition of these sciences betake himself to reading the books (which deal with them). Since the discourse setting forth the enumeration of the classes of science is ended, know for a certainty that each one of these arts and each one of these sciences demands a number of conditions in order that it may be impressed upon the souls of those who seek it, and after the enumeration of the sciences you must know the methods of study, for there are specific methods of acquiring knowledge, and we will analyse them.

CHAPTER V

Setting forth the Methods of Studying Knowledge

Know that human knowledge is acquired by two means:

(i) By submission to human teaching.

(ii) By submission to Divine teaching.

As regards the first means, it is a familiar method and a path which is easily perceived all intelligent men acknowledge it. But as for submission to Divine teaching it is of two aspects, one of them from without and it is acquired by the

[1] For a discussion of *waqt* cf. Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, pp. 367–370.
[2] Cf. Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p 384.

acceptance of instruction, and the other from within and it is preoccupation with reflection.

(a) Now this inner reflection takes the place of study in the outer sphere. For learning is what one person gains from an individual (الشخص الجزئ) and the power of reflection[1] is what the soul gains from Universal Soul, and Universal Soul is stronger in influence and greater in power of teaching, than all learned and intelligent men.[2] Now knowledge is implanted in the souls at their beginning (i.e. when first created), with potentiality, like the seed in the earth and the gem in the depths of the sea, or in the heart of the mine and study is the search to bring forth that thing from potentiality to actuality. For the soul of him who is taught resembles the soul of the teacher, owing to similarity of nature, and the learned man is like the sower, and the learner, in deriving profit, is like the earth, and the knowledge, with its potentiality, is like the seed, and that which is actuality is like the plant. Then, when the soul of the learner is perfected, it will be like the tree which bears fruit,[3] or the pearl brought forth from the depths of the sea. Now when the bodily powers prevail over the soul the learner has need of more study, and must spend more time on it, and he must endure trouble and much weariness in the search for profit. But when the light of reason prevails over the sensible qualities, the seeker, with but little reflection, can dispense with much study, for the

[1] i.e. the power of ratiocination. Cf. *Iḥyā'*, iv, p 364 (l 12) "Reflection is the beginning of—and the key to—all good . . . it is the search for the gnosis which is desired . . as the stone strikes upon the iron and brings forth from it fire, whereby the place is illuminated and the eye is able to see after it was unseeing, and the limbs are stirred to activity, so also the flint-stone of the light of gnosis is Reflection . . and the heart is changed because of this light . . so the fruit of reflection is knowledge and mystic 'states'."

[2] Cf Plotinus, iv, 1, 1, and *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, iii, p. 275, "the irradiation of the Divine Light shed upon Universal Mind and by Universal Mind upon Universal Soul and by Universal Soul upon individual souls."

[3] Cf. *Mishkāt al-Anwār*, p 135, on الروح الفكري: "Its characteristic is to begin from one proposition, then to branch out into two . . . the symbol for this in this world is the Tree."

receptive soul, through a single hour's reflection, gains what the unreceptive soul does not gain by a whole year's study. So some men acquire knowledge by study and some by reflection, and study needs reflection also, for man cannot learn all particulars and universals, nor all subjects of knowledge But he learns something and, through reflection, infers something from what has been learnt. For most of the speculative sciences and the practical arts are the result of inference by the souls of the wise, through the clearness of their understanding and the power of their thought and the keenness of their conjectures, without a great deal of study and acquisition.

For if man did not infer something through reflection from what is first known to him, the business would be prolonged for men and the darkness of ignorance would not depart from their hearts, for the soul cannot learn all that is important to it, particulars and universals, by means of study, but some part of it by study and some by vision, just as we see is customary among men Certain things are deduced from the inner consciousness through the clearness of a man's thought; and the practice of the learned follows this course, and by this means the foundations of the sciences are laid. So that the geometrician does not learn all that he will need for the whole of his life, but he learns the universal principles of his science and its axioms, then after that he infers and compares. So also the physician is not able to learn in detail all the diseases of persons and their remedies, but he reflects upon what is known to him as a whole, and cures each individual according to his constitution. So also the astrologer studies the general laws of the stars, then he reflects and comes to the different determinations (i.e. horoscopes). So it is with the jurisconsult and the man of letters, and in the same manner up to the rare works of art, for one invented a musical instrument, such as the lute, by means of his reflection, and another deduced from that instrument another instrument. So likewise all the arts, bodily and sensual, the first of them

are acquired by study and the rest are the result of reflection. And when the door of thought has been opened to the soul, it has learnt how to reflect and how to return by way of conjecture to what was sought, and this man's heart is expanded and his understanding is opened and what is in his soul of potentiality becomes actuality, without excessive search or prolonged toil.

(*b*) The second means, which is the Divine teaching, is of two types :—

(i) Divine revelation (الوحى), which means that when the soul has perfected itself the defilement of human nature passes away from it and the filthiness of greed and desire, and its regard is detached from the lusts of this world, and its links with transient desires are severed, and it turns towards its Creator and Master and takes hold upon the bounty of its Author and relies upon His grace and the outpouring of His Light. Then God Most High, by His most excellent favour, welcomes that soul with full acceptance and looks upon it with (His) Divine regard, and He takes from it a tablet, and from Universal Soul a Pen which inscribes upon it all His knowledge. Then Universal Mind becomes the teacher and the sanctified soul the taught, and all knowledge is acquired by that soul and all images are impressed upon it without study and reflection.[1]

This is confirmed by the Word of God Most High to the Prophet (may God bless him), " And He made you to know what ye did not know," [2] etc. Now the knowledge of the prophets is of a more honourable degree than all the sciences of mankind, for it is received directly, without mediation, from God Most High, and this is made plain in the story of Adam (upon him be peace) and the angels. For they studied

[1] Cf. Plotinus, v, 3, 3. " It has been strengthened still towards the perception of all that is good by the irradiation of the Intellectual Principle upon it : for this pure phase of the soul welcomes to itself the images implanted from its prior."

[2] Sūra ii, 240.

all their lives and, by different means, acquired much knowledge until they became the most learned of the creatures and the most understanding of existent things. Now Adam (upon him be peace) was not learned, because he had not studied and did not look to any teacher. So the angels vied with one another in boasting, and were arrogant and magnified themselves, and they said "We sing Thy praises and we bless Thy Name, and we know the real meaning of things." Then Adam (upon him be peace) returned to his Creator's door and, having detached his heart from all created things, came to seek help from his Lord Most High and He taught him the names (of all things) Then He brought them forth to the angels and said. "Declare unto Me the names of these, if ye speak truly," and their state was diminished in Adam's sight and their knowledge lessened and the ship of their pride was broken and they were submerged in the sea of impotence. They said "We have no knowledge but what Thou hast taught us," and God said: "O Adam, tell them their names"[1] Then Adam (upon him be peace) informed them concerning the hidden things of knowledge and the mysteries of the Divine Command (الأمر).[2]

In the view of intelligent men it is established that the esoteric knowledge derived from revelation is greater and more certain than the sciences which are acquired (i e. by study). Now the knowledge which is revealed came to be the heritage of the prophets and the privilege of the apostles, and God has kept the door of revelation closed since the time of our lord Muhammad (may God bless him), who was the apostle of God (His blessing upon him) and the last of the prophets. He was the most learned of men and the most eloquent of Arabs and

[1] Sūra II, 29 ff.

[2] Cf *Iḥyā'*, III, pp 328, 329 "There are two worlds, the world of *amr* and the created world . . every being devoid of quantity and dimension belongs to the world of *amr*", and IV, p 23 "The world of *amr* is what prevails over the created world" Cf also *Kitab al-Arba'īn*, pp 53, 54. "Sensible things have no real existence real existence belongs (only) to the world of *amr* and *malakūt*." Cf. also *Rawḍat al-Ṭālibīn*, p 176.

foreigners, and he used to say: "My Lord has educated me and has instructed me well." He said also to his community: "I am the most learned of you and the most God-fearing." But his knowledge was more perfect and nobler and greater only because it was the result of the Divine teaching, and he never busied himself with human learning and teaching. God said. "One mighty in power taught him."[1]

(ii) The second type is Inspiration (الهام) and Inspiration is the awakening, by Universal Soul, of the individual, human soul, in proportion to its purity and its receptivity, and the degree of its preparedness. Now Inspiration follows upon Revelation, for Revelation is the clear manifestation of the Divine Command, and Inspiration is the hinting thereat. The knowledge which is derived from revelation is called prophetic knowledge, and that which is derived from inspiration is called knowledge from on high (علم لدنيا). It is that which is attained without mediation between the soul and its Creator; it is, indeed, like the radiance from the Lamp of the Invisible, shed upon a heart which is pure, at leisure, subtle. That is because all knowledge is attained and known in the substance of the Primal Universal Soul, (which is present in incorporeal, primal, pure substances), through its relationship to the First Intelligence (Universal Mind), which is like the relationship of Eve to Adam (upon him be peace).

It has been made clear that Universal Mind is nobler and more perfect and stronger and nearer to the Most High Creator than Universal Soul,[2] and Universal Soul is nobler and more

[1] Sūra liii, 5.

[2] Cf. Plotinus, v, i, 6. "The soul being an utterance and act of the Intellectual-Principle, as that is an utterance and act of The One," and v, 9, 4. "The Intellectual-Principle is at once something other and something more powerful than Soul and the more powerful is, in the nature of things, the prior."

Cf. also *Rasā' il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, "The relationship of Soul to Mind is like the relationship of moonlight to the light of the sun, and the relationship of Mind to the Creator is like the relationship of sunlight to the sun itself," iii, p. 8. Cf. Introduction, p. 179 above.

receptive and more honourable than the rest of the creation, and from the outpouring (افاضة) of Universal Mind emanates revelation, and from the irradiation of Universal Soul comes inspiration. Now revelation is the adornment of the Prophets and inspiration the ornament of the saints, but, as regards revealed knowledge, as the soul is below the intelligence, and the saint below the prophet, so also inspiration is below revelation, for it is weak in comparison with revelation, strong in comparison with vision [1] (رؤيا), and inspired knowledge is possessed by both prophets and saints. But revealed knowledge belongs exclusively to the apostles and ceased with them, as it belonged to Adam and Moses (upon them both be peace) and Abraham and Muhammad (God's blessing be upon both) and others beside them of the apostles, and there is a distinction between the apostolate and the prophetic mission. For prophecy is the reception, by the sanctified soul, of the true meanings of things known and understood, from the substance of Universal Mind, and the apostolate is the conveyance of these things, known and understood, to those able to profit thereby, who are fit to receive them [2] And it may be that some soul is fitted to receive (this knowledge), but it is not transmitted to it, on account of some hindrance or some reason.

So, then, knowledge from on high belongs to the prophets and the saints, as it did to Khiḍr (upon him be peace), for God said of him · "And We taught him knowledge from Ourself" [3] Also the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (may God be gracious unto him), said . "The Apostle made his tongue enter my mouth [4] and a thousand gates of knowledge were opened unto me, and with each gate another

[1] i e in sleep Cf Introduction, pp. 178 ff. above.

[2] Cf 'Abd al-Razzāq on the Prophet as the one who can give information concerning the Divine Realities, that is, the Essence of the Godhead and His Names Cf also p. 361 above, note (2).

[3] Sūra xviii, 64

[4] The Cairo texts read "I made my tongue enter into my mouth, i.e. I kept silence."

thousand gates." He said also: "If a cushion were placed for me and I were to sit upon it I would pass judgment upon the followers of the Tawrāt, by means of their Tawrāt, and on the followers of the Gospel, by means of their Gospel, and on the followers of the Qur'ān, by means of their Qur'ān." Now this rank is not attained by mere human study, but a man is adorned in this rank by the power of the knowledge from on high. He said also (may God be pleased with him), speaking of the age of Moses (upon whom be peace): "The exposition of his book amounts to forty loads and if God would give me leave to expound the true meaning of the *Fātiḥa* I would pursue my way therein until it reached the like of that, I mean forty heavy loads" Now this amplitude and extensive capacity and this opening of the gates of knowledge can only be inspired, Divine, heavenly.

Therefore, when God wishes well to one of His servants, He raises the veil between Himself and the Universal Soul, which is the Tablet [1] and the mysteries of certain created things are manifested in it and the spiritual meanings of those created things are engraved upon it and that Soul explains them as it wishes, to whom He wills among His servants.[2] For true wisdom is attained by knowledge from on high, and so long as a man does not attain to this rank he is not wise, for wisdom is one of the gifts of God Most High. "He giveth wisdom to whom He wills and he to whom wisdom is given, is given much good, but none bear it in mind save the wise of heart." [3] And that is because those who attain to the rank of inspired knowledge, having no need of much acquisition and the weariness of learning, study little and learn much, and their toil is light and their rest is long.

Know that when revelation was cut off and when the door

[1] Cf. pp. 196, 363 above.

[2] Cf. *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, iii, p. 275. "All good things come from the grace of God and the irradiation of His light upon Universal Mind and from Universal Mind upon Universal Soul, and from Universal Soul upon the material forms which individual (human) souls see in the corporeal world."

[3] Sūra ii, 272.

of the apostolate was closed, men had no need of apostles and the manifestation of the summons (to a new faith), after the authentication of the proof and the perfecting of the faith, as God Most High said. "To-day have I perfected your religion."[1] And it is not the part of wisdom to manifest additional benefit without need. But the door of inspiration is not closed, and the help of Universal Soul is not cut off, because of the continual necessity of human souls and their need for strengthening and renewal and reminder. For men have no need (now) of the apostolate and the call, and they have need of reminder and admonition, because of their absorption in these temptations and their obstinate persistence in these lusts. For God Most High closed the door of revelation, whereby His servants were guided, and He opened the door of inspiration, out of His mercy, and ordered affairs aright and placed souls in their different ranks, so that they might know that God shows loving kindness to His servants and He gives sustenance to whom He will, without price.

CHAPTER VI

On the Ranks of the Souls in the Acquisition of Knowledge

Know that knowledge is implanted within all human souls and all of them are capable of receiving all types of knowledge, only a soul may miss its appointed share of that, because of something intervening or something occurring to it unexpectedly from outside. As the Prophet (God bless him) has said: "Men were created orthodox believers (حنفا) and myrmidons of Satan led them astray." The Prophet said also: "Every child is born in natural religion (على الفطرة), etc."[2] So the rational human soul is worthy to be enlightened by Universal Soul and is fitted to receive intelligible images

[1] Sūra v, 5.
[2] "Then his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian."

from it, by the power of its original purity and its primal innocence,[1] but some souls have become diseased in this world and are prevented from apprehending the true meaning of things, by reason of various infirmities and different accidents. Some of them remain in their pristine health, without infirmity or corruption, and receive (i.e. from Universal Soul) as long as they remain alive. Now the souls which are perfect (صحيحة) are the prophetic souls, which are receptive of revelation and the (Divine) strengthening, and they are able to manifest miracles and supernatural power in this world of generation and corruption. For those souls continue in their pristine perfection and their constitutions have not been changed by the corrupting effect of infirmities and the defects of accidents. So the prophets became the physicians of souls,[2] and those who summoned mankind to the perfection of their created nature (i.e. to the true faith).

But as for the souls which are diseased in this lower world, they fall into different classes: some of them, through infirmity due to their abode (i.e. in this world) have received a weak impression (from Universal Soul), and the clouds of forgetfulness have affected their minds, and so they occupy themselves with study, and they seek to recover their original health, and their infirmities disappear by the application of the simplest of remedies, and the clouds of their forgetfulness are dispersed by a very little recollection. But some of them study throughout their lives and occupy themselves with learning and seek their first state of perfection, and their infirmity does not disappear by the use of the simplest remedies, nor do the clouds of their forgetfulness disperse by means of very little recollection. Then some of them study all their lives and occupy themselves in learning and trying to recover perfection,

[1] Cf. Plotinus, v, 3, 3

[2] Cf. the teaching of al-Muḥāsibī, quoted in my *Early Mystic of Baghdad* p. 237: "God commanded them to bring relief to those who suffer (i.e, from sickness of the soul) and He said: 'O ye who are My witnesses, if any come to you sick, because he has fallen away from Me, heal him.'"

all their days, and do not understand anything, because of the corruption of their natural dispositions, for their disposition is corrupt and not receptive of the cure. And some of them remember and (then) forget, and they discipline and humiliate their souls and they find a little light and some feeble illumination. Now this distinction has appeared only because the souls were pre-occupied with this world, and their detachment from it is in proportion to their strength and their weakness, like the healthy person who has fallen sick and the sick person when he has become well. When this impediment is removed the souls acknowledge the existence of knowledge from on high and realize that they were wise in their original state and pure when they were first created, and their ignorance arose only through their association with this gross body and their continuance in this abode of trouble and place of darkness

Now the souls do not seek, through study, to create knowledge which is non-existent, nor to bring into existence an intelligence which is lacking, but they seek for the restoration of the original, innate knowledge which has been lost, for infirmity has come upon them through their preoccupation with the adornment of the flesh and setting it upon a sure foundation and putting its basis in order. Now the loving father, when he undertakes the training of his child and occupies himself with its concerns, forgets all (other) affairs and is content with one affair, and that is the affair of the child. So also the soul, because of its passionate love and pity, has been concerned with this edifice (i.e. the body) and has busied itself in building it up and training it and in solicitude for its affairs. So the soul became submerged in the sea of human nature, because of its weakness and its individuality and, throughout its life, it had need of study, in order to seek for the recollection of what it had forgotten, being desirous of the recovery of what it had lost. For study is only the return of the soul to its own proper substance and the bringing forth to actuality of that which is contained (in potentiality) in its own

inner self, seeking thereby to perfect itself and to attain to its true happiness.

But when souls are so weak that they do not follow the right road to the realization of their true nature, they attach themselves, and have recourse, to a master who is compassionate and wise and ask for his succour, so that he may assist them in the search for what they desire and that for which they hope, like the sick person who is ignorant of what will cure him, but he knows that good health is praiseworthy and desirable, and he has recourse to a compassionate physician and exposes his state to him and takes shelter with him, so that he may heal him and make his sickness to cease from him. We have sometimes seen a learned man fall sick with a particular infirmity, affecting, for instance, the head and the breast, so that his soul shuns all knowledge and he forgets what he has learnt and it becomes confused to him, and all that he acquired in his past life and his days that are gone remains hidden within his memory and his recollection. Then, when he has recovered and health has returned to him, he ceases to be forgetful and the soul returns to what it had learnt and then it remembers what it had forgotten in the days of sickness. So we learnt that the knowledge had not disappeared, it was only forgotten, and there is a distinction between obliteration and forgetfulness. For obliteration is the disappearance of what is engraved and impressed, and forgetfulness is the obscuring of impressions, and it is like the mists or clouds which veil the light of the sun from the eyes of those who look, not like the sunset, which is the departure of the sun from (a position) above the earth to (one) below it.

So, then, the soul's preoccupation with study is the removal of the infirmity which has befallen it, from the substance of the soul, in order that it may return to what it knew in its original state and what it understood in its pristine purity. And when you have understood the cause and purpose of study and the real nature of the soul and its substance, then know that the soul which is sick needs to study and to spend

its life in acquiring knowledge. *But* as for the soul which realizes its sickness and whose infirmity is light and its evil trivial and its clouds thin, and its natural disposition sound, it has no need for excessive study and long toil. On the contrary, a very little consideration and reflection suffices for it, because it is restored thereby to its original state, and it returns to what it was at first and realizes itself and contemplates the mysteries within it and brings the potentiality which it possesses to actuality, and what was implanted within it becomes an adornment to it, and its affair is completed and its condition made perfect, and it comes to know many things in a very few days. Then it interprets what is known, in the right way, and becomes wise, perfect, articulate (متكلمة), and seeks light by approaching Universal Soul, which pours forth of its abundance, when it encounters the individual soul. And the latter becomes assimilated [1] to it by way of passionate love, in the beginning, and it cuts off the root of envy and the beginnings of contempt and turns aside from the vanities of this world and its pomp, and when it has reached this stage it has become wise and has attained to salvation and to victory. And this what all men desire [2]

CHAPTER VII

On the Real Meaning of Knowledge from on High and the Means of Attaining It

Know that knowledge from on high is the irradiation of the light of inspiration, and inspiration comes after completion (تسوية), as God Most High said: "By a soul and Him Who fashioned it completely," [3] and completion is the making

[1] Cf *Theology of Aristotle*, p 85 "It becomes assimilated to Universal Soul and becomes like it in conduct and manner of life, there is no distinction between them or difference." And *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, iii, p. 274.

[2] Cf Plotinus, vi, 7, 22 "The soul taking that outflow from the Divine is stirred it becomes Love . . when there enters into it a glow from the Divine, it gathers strength, awakes, spreads its wings."

[3] Sūra xci, 7. Cf. *Maḍnūn al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 2.

sound of the soul and its return to its original disposition, and this return is accomplished by means of three things :—

(*a*) The study of all branches of knowledge and taking the greatest share of most of them.

(*b*) Genuine self-discipline and true meditation, for the Prophet (God bless him) alluded to this truth, saying : "To him who acts in accordance with what he knows, God grants knowledge of what he does not know." The Prophet also said : "To him who worshipped God in sincerity for forty mornings, God made springs of wisdom, arising from his heart, to be manifested by his tongue."

(*c*) Reflection, for when the soul has studied and is disciplined through knowledge and then has reflected on what was known to it, in accordance with what reflection requires, the door of the Invisible is opened to it, just as, to the merchant who disposes of his goods, in accordance with what disposal requires, the gates of profit are opened, and if he followed the wrong course, he would fall into the dangers of loss. So he who reflects, since he follows the right way, becomes one of those who understand, and a window into the Invisible World is opened in his heart, and he becomes wise, perfected, understanding, inspired, victorious. As the Prophet (God bless him) said : "To reflect for one hour is better than seventy years of devotion." [1] But we will enumerate the conditions of reflection in another treatise, since the exposition of Reflection, and how it comes about, and its true meaning, is an obscure matter requiring further elucidation, which will be facilitated, by the help of God Most High.

And now we will bring this treatise to an end, for in these words is enough for those to whom they are directed, and "he to whom God does not appoint light will have no light". God is the Lord of those who believe and in Him we should put our trust. May God bless our lord Muḥammad and his family and his companions, and give them peace. For God is our

[1] Cf. al-Muḥāsibī on Reflection. *An Early Mystic of Baghdad*, pp. 99 ff.

Sufficiency and how excellent a Protector is He, and there is no might nor power save in God the Exalted, the Almighty, and in Him is my confidence at all times. Praise be to God, the Lord of all created things.

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The Instructions of the East India Company to Lord Macartney on his Embassy to China and his Reports to the Company,[1] 1792–4. Part II: Letter to the Viceroy and First Report.

EDITED BY EARL H PRITCHARD

(Continued from p. 230.)

[Document No. 2]

LETTER FROM THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO THE VICEROY, 27TH APRIL, 1792[2]

The Honorable the President, and Chairman, of the Honorable the Court of Directors, under whose orders, and authority the Commerce of Great Britain is carried on with the Chinese Nation at Canton, to the high and mighty Lord, the Tsontock [*Tsung-tu*], or Viceroy, of the Provinces of Quantong [Kuangtung] and Kiang-si, Greeting.

These are, with our hearty Commendations, to acquaint you, that Our most Gracious Sovereign, His most excellent Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &ca. &ca. whose fame extends to all parts of the World, having heard that it had been expected his subjects settled at Canton in the Chinese Empire should have sent a Deputation to the Court of Pekin, in order to congratulate

[1] The editor is indebted to the India Office for kind permission, obtained through Mr. W. T Ottewill, Superintendent of Records, to publish the two documents which appear in this article.

[2] MSS India Office, *China Macartney Embassy*, xci, 333–6. Another copy of this letter in English is to be found in MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, iv, No. 115, and a Latin copy together with an English translation (of recent date) are to be found in MSS. Cornell, *Collections of Monsieur Isaac Titsingh*, "Lettre de creance de Macartney." This letter, signed by Francis Baring, is identical with the original draft made by Lord Macartney and transmitted to Henry Dundas on 17th March, 1792 (MSS. India Office, *China Macartney Embassy*, xci, 171–2). Part of it is printed in G. L. Staunton's *An Authentic Account* . . ., i, 44–6.

the Emperor on his entering into the eightieth year of his Age, and that such Deputation had not been immediately dispatched, His Majesty expressed great displeasure thereat.[1] And being desirous of cultivating the Friendship of the Emperor of China, and of improving the connection, intercourse and good correspondence between the Courts of London and Pekin, and of increasing and extending the Commerce between their respective subjects, resolved to send his well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor the Right Honorable George Lord Macartney, Baron of Lissanoure,[2] one of his most honorable Privy Council of Ireland and Knight of the most honorable Order of the Bath, and of the most ancient and royal Order of the White Eagle, a nobleman of high rank and quality, of great virtue, wisdom and ability, who has already filled many important offices and employments in the State, as his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China, to represent his Person, and to express in the strongest terms the satisfaction he shall feel, if this mark of his attention and regard, serves as a foundation to prove the sincerity of his sentiments, and of his earnest wishes to promote the advantage and interest of the two Nations of Great Britain and China, and to establish a perpetual harmony and alliance between them.

The Ambassador with his attendants will very soon set out on his Voyage; and having several presents for the

[1] In October, 1789, the Hoppo (O-êrh-têng-pu 額爾登布), Imperial Customs officer at Canton, and Viceroy (Fu K'ang-an 福康安 [d 1796]) had proposed to the supercargoes that a deputation be sent from the foreign community at Canton to congratulate the Emperor upon his 80th birthday. Although one of the supercargoes agreed to go, the Canton officials said nothing more about the matter, and the deputation was never sent (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 177–8, 182).

[2] At the time this letter was written Lord Macartney was still a Baron. He became Viscount Macartney of Dervock, in the county of Antrim, Ireland, on 28th June, 1792 As a result of an arrangement made before he sailed for China he was made the Earl of Macartney in the county of Antrim, on 1st March, 1794 (Robbins, op. cit., pp. 179, 413).

Emperor of China from the King of Great Britain, which from their size, nice mechanism, and value could not be conveyed through the interior of the Country to so great a distance as from Canton to Pekin, without the risk of much damage and injury, will proceed directly and without delay in one of His Majesty's Ships properly accompanied, to the Port of Tien-sing, in order to mark his particular respect, by approaching in the first instance as near as possible to the residence of the Emperor of China.

We request therefore that you will please to convey this information to the Court of Pekin, trusting that the Imperial Orders and Directions will be issued for the proper reception of the King of Great Britain's Ships, with his Ambassador and his Attendants on board them, as soon as they shall appear at Tien-sing, or on the neighbouring Coasts.

And so praying the Almighty God to grant you all happiness and long life, and to take you under his heavenly protection, We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at London the 27th day of the Month of April in the year 1792 of the Christian Aera.[1]

(Signed) FRANCIS BARING.

[1] The original of this letter together with a Latin version were presented by the Secret Committee at Canton (Henry Browne, Eyles Irwin, and William Jackson) to the Governor of Kuangtung (Kuo Shih-hsun 郭世勛 [勳]) and the Hoppo (Sheng Chu 盛住) on 10th October, 1792. The Viceroy was still the Fu K'ang-an mentioned in note 1, page 376 of this *Journal*, but he was absent in Tibet at the time conducting a campaign against the Goorkhas of Nepal The letter together with a memorial were forwarded to Peking by Kuo Shih-hsün. See Pritchard, *Crucial Years of Early Anglo-Chinese Relations* (Pullman, Washington, 1936), pp 312–15, and Liang T'ing-nan 梁廷枏, *Yüeh Hai-kuan Chih* 粵海關志 (Canton ?, 1838), Ch. 23, pp 3–4 The authorship of this last work is sometimes attributed to Yü K'un 豫堃 (預坤), who was Hoppo or Superintendent of Customs in 1838, because his name appears on the title-page In an article in the *Ling-nan Hsüeh-pao* 嶺南學報 (iv [April, 1935], 138), dealing with Liang T'ing-nan's works, Sinn Yuk-ching (Hsien Yü-ch'ing) 洗玉清 describes the *Yüeh Hai-kuan Chih*.

[Document No. 3]

Lord Macartney's First Report to the East India Company[1]

Canton, December 23d 1793.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman
of the Honorable East India Company

Gentlemen

From the neighbourhood of Han-chou-foo [Hangchow], which is about midway between Pekin and Canton, I wrote to Mr Dundas Secretary of State a detailed account of my principal transactions in China to the 11th of last month.[2] It was the first opportunity that offered of any communication with Europe, since I opened my commission. Captain Mackintosh was then allowed to go directly to his ship [the *Hindostan*] lying at Chusan[3] Some of your other vessels might have been ready to sail from Canton after his arrival there and before mine, as I was to travel by a more tedious route in Company with the [New] Viceroy [Ch'ang Lin, 長麟], of that Province I therefore then addressed a short letter[4] to you chiefly for the purpose of referring you to my

[1] MSS India Office, *China Factory Records*, xx, for original, and *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 369-372, for a duplicate. Part of it is published in Bannister, op cit, pp lxv-lxxviii. The letter was received in England on 19th July, 1794, by the Swedish ship *Sophia Magdalena* and was read before the Court of Directors on 23rd July As there is practically no paragraphing throughout the letter, it has been introduced for convenience sake

[2] MSS India Office, *China Factory Records*, xx, for original, and *China. Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 31-116, and xciii, 59-90 of Part 3, for duplicates. Efforts are being made to publish this important dispatch.

[3] Captain Mackintosh had accompanied the Embassy to Peking and Jehol and had been refused permission to precede the Embassy to Chusan, where the *Hindostan* had gone after unloading the presents near Tientsin. The *Hindostan* proceeded directly to Canton after Captain Mackintosh returned to her

[4] This short letter, dated Han-tchou-fou, 10th November, 1793, is not of much importance It refers the Chairs to Macartney's dispatch to Henry Dundas, indicates that he has taken notes upon the transactions of each day which he will ultimately present to the Chairs, and concludes, "I have

dispatch to Mr. Dundas, in the persuasion that he would communicate to you whatever interested the affairs of the Company under your immediate direction. I now seize the first occasion, as becomes me, of acknowledging your letter of instructions of the 8th of September, 1792, when you can best judge how far I have endeavoured to conform my conduct to them.

You justly considered that "the first and most important object was neither to impair nor injure the actual situation of the Company, thereby checking those prospects which were decidedly in view". The Embassy was certainly not exempt from the risk, attending all considerable undertakings, of leaving matters, in case of failure, worse than they had been found: and in the present instance, beside the obstacles to our success which were possible to foresee, from the opposition and intrigues of rival Companies trading to China,[1] of the Canton Officers and merchants, and from the suspicions and jealousies of the Court of Pekin, on account of our Indian Possessions, all which were observed upon in Mr. Dundas's instructions, other difficulties occurred out of the reach of probability, and some beyond all human foresight. It was not to be foreseen that while our Troops were really employed

the strongest assurances that our trade with China will derive essential benefit from the Embassy, and we have obtained such information of the wants and habits of the Northern people of this country, as may lead to an considerable export of goods for their consumption by the way of Canton, till Time shall produce a more immediate communication with them. The measure therefore will prove to have been laid on the firm foundation of national wisdom, which looses no probable chance of enriching & aggrandizing the state by the extension of its reputation & commerce" (MSS. India Office, *China · Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 27). Ch'ang Lin the new Viceroy of Canton joined the Embassy near Hangchow and escorted it overland to Canton. For information about the Canton officials of this period see the *Yüeh Hai-kuan Chih* (Annals of the Kuangtung Customs), Ch. 7.

[1] A Swedish agent in London proposed to his government a scheme to cause the failure of the Embassy, and the Dutch Chief at Canton was somewhat opposed to the Embassy at first, but so far as can be determined no actual steps were taken to injure the Embassy (Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 298, 319, 323–4).

in the Peninsula of India against Tippoo Sultaun [Tipu Sultan of Mysore], the Chinese should fancy we were assisting their Enemies in Thibet, feeling tho concealing their alarm and resentment for such a supposed procedure[1] *It was not* likely that their aversion to the revolution in France should so suddenly indispose them against any connexion with the Western world, and it was not natural to expect that the Portuguese, whom we take every occasion to assist and protect in Europe, and who have no commercial competition with us in this Country, should suffer their religious bigotry and local jealousy, to operate upon their conduct to our prejudice.[2] Having such difficulties to encounter, all of which were not to be surmounted but by the gradual operation of time, aided by much prudent management, your admonition became necessarily of the first consequence in my eyes

I felt, under circumstances of strange and inconsistent conduct in particular instances on the part of the Chinese relative to my negotiation, as well as sometimes of personal provocation to myself, the absolute necessity of uncommon caution and forbearance on my part By these means not only the main object of your instructions has been perfectly secured, but the way to attain the prospects before you is rendered clearer, and the prospects themselves enlarged. Not only the Emperor declared at the time when he was under impressions the least favorable to our views, that he would treat the English Merchants trading to Canton with

[1] While Lord Macartney was at the Emperor's Court one of the *most* persistently unfriendly officials was Fu K'ang-an, titular Viceroy of Canton, who had recently been in Tibet in command of a Chinese army operating against an invasion of the Goorkhas from Nepal He is supposed to have maintained that the English were helping the Goorkhas, whereas an agent of Lord Cornwallis had actually mediated *between* the Goorkhas and Chinese (Pritchard, op. cit. pp 332, 336, 372–3).

[2] All of the Portuguese missionaries at Peking especially Joseph Bernard d Almeida, were supposed to have been *unfriendly towards* the Embassy, but it is unlikely that they did it any special harm (Pritchard, op. cit, pp 330, 333–5, 381)

justice and benevolence,[1] but he has since signified by one of his Ministers [Sung Yun 松筠], who accompanied me as far as Han-chou-foo [Hangchow], and also by the new Viceroy [Ch'ang Lin] of Canton, who was chiefly with me afterwards, that a particular enquiry should be made into the duties and fees actually levied upon the English trade, in order to remove every kind of extortion, and that such indulgence should beside be shewn, as might be consistent with the laws and customs of the Chinese. It must, however, take some time and much previous communication before the Viceroy, to whom everything at Canton is entirely new, can form regulations in our favor. It is therefore possible that their effect will not be felt before the arrival of the Ships of the next season.

It might have been indeed attended with some risk, as you justly observe, to press for any regulations unless under very favorable circumstances; no opportunity however more favorable could have offered for effecting a relief to our Commerce at Canton from the growing grievances to which it had been subject than a change in the Government of the Province by the appointment of a man [Ch'ang Lin] of an upright and disinterested, tho of a slow and cautious Character, and who thinks the honor of his Country concerned in doing us justice. This disposition of the Vice-roy will no doubt be greatly aided by the effect produced upon the minds of the Natives in general in consequence of the very distinguished honors paid everywhere to the Embassy by orders of the Court, and our gracious reception at least in point of form, by the Emperor. This circumstance cannot fail to impress both Mandarins and People with a higher respect and consideration for the English name, than they had hitherto entertained, and the circumstance of the

[1] See the Emperor's reply of 3rd October, 1793, to the King's letter (E Backhouse and J. O. P. Bland, *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking* [London, 1914], pp 324–5), and his reply on 7th October, 1793, to Lord Macartney's requests, printed in Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 250–1.

communication being more opened with Pekin for our representations,[1] may check *the dispositions* of the Canton Officers to impose, and as *you mention* in *your* instructions to your Commissioners *there*, may produce more permanent advantages *than any positive* orders on the part of the Emperor, the execution of which might be evaded.

Beside the advantages thus resulting from the Embassy in the mode of carrying on your trade, the novelty of such a spectacle at Pekin, and thro the whole country, together with the splendor that attended it, attracted universal attention The very materials of our dress and furniture became objects of consideration. The opportunity of occasionally distributing presents of our manufactures,[2] answered the purpose of disseminating a taste for them, and it was not less singular than pleasing to observe the avidity with which some even of our slightest articles were received by persons to whom the price of them, at any rate of profit, would have been no object

I am convinced that, by proper management and encouragement *in the beginning*, our exports to China may by degrees be brought to exceed the amount of our present imports from thence. Already woolen [*sic*] cloth and watches seem to be indispensible necessaries to every Gentleman at Pekin, and even to his Principal attendants. Beside such woollens

[1] On the trip to Canton Lord Macartney received from Ch'ang Lin what he interpreted as an invitation to open a correspondence between Peking and London and to send a later Embassy As a result he gave a note of compliment to Ch'ang indicating the desire of the English to continue the correspondence This was forwarded to Peking and an Imperial reply sent down giving permission to send letters and pay tribute in the future (Pritchard, op cit., pp. 3[illegible]6-8)

[2] Besides the presents given to the Emperor, numerous articles of British manufacture were given to the Viceroy of Chihli (Liang K'ĕn-t'ang 梁肯堂), the Governor of Kiangsi (Ch'en Huai 陳淮), Van and Chou (the two subordinate conductors of the Embassy), and to at least ten other minor officials who accompanied the Embassy The articles distributed included watches, woollens, leather goods, cutlery from Birmingham and Sheffield, sword blades (especially Gill's from Birmingham), spectacles, and firearms (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, Nos 347, 349, 354).

as have hitherto been sent thither, I conceive that no inconsiderable quantity of what is called fleecy hosiery [woollens having a fleece-like nap] would find a vent in the Northern Provinces, together with any other manufacture of wool that in warmth could supply the use of furs, without being so expensive. The Emperor has been pleased to allow his Courtiers to appear before him dressed in woollen, instead of silk or furs; a circumstance which must not inconsiderably increase the consumption of those of the finer sort I think it not impossible that a remission may be obtained in time of the transit duty and fees exacted upon our Goods in passing from the Southward to the Northward of the Empire, amounting to about ten per cent, and which would certainly encrease very much the sale particularly of the inferior woollens; and thus answer the purpose of the reduction in their original price, which has been proposed by the Canton Merchants.

I shall here observe that the Tabbinets which were very carefully put up among other presents, arrived perfectly free from damage; but that species of Irish manufacture which has the least proportion of silk in its texture, appears the most likely to answer here, being most different from the manufactures of the Country.[1] The wear even of linen might by some be preferred to that of Cotton, and the finer patterns of the latter stuff from Manchester[2] would be probably purchased for the women, for whom the Men seem at all times here anxious to procure ornaments of every kind, especially earrings and necklaces of different coloured stones or glass, or of gold, or gilt.

[1] For a reference to Tabinet see *JRAS.*, April, 1938, p. 223. Experimental shipments of Irish linens in 1794–5 and 1795–6 were not approved and were disposed of by the Hong merchants in Manila.

[2] Experimental shipments of Manchester cotton goods were made in 1786–7, 1788–9, and 1790–1, the latter of which sold at a slight profit, but as the Hong merchants did not approve of them no more were sent (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 120, 152, 179–180; Pritchard, op. cit., p. 161). In general the Company did not favour the introduction of manufactures of the new industrial towns in the north of England.

Glass in all its forms and applications is well calculated to hit the Taste of the Chinese, and might be brought into general use amongst them, especially what could be afforded at moderate prices, and a vast variety of our hardware would be exceedingly grateful to them, their own being so very much inferior and when the number of Consumers in so vast and populous an Empire is considered there are few articles so low priced when singly taken, as collectively to be insignificant and when demanded by millions they rise to be of value and cease to be below the notice even of a great commercial Company The business likewise, might easily be conducted so as not at all to interfere with any private trade allowed to the Officers of the Company's Ships.[1]

In general, I have found no people more curious, more greedy after novelty, or more eager to encrease their personal convenience than the subjects of this Country They soon perceive the preference due to the new object presented to them before whatever had hitherto supplied its place among themselves Thus their Secretaries and Clerks, as soon as they saw our European Paper especially that sort which is pressed smooth for the pen or pencil to move easily upon it, were always desirous to use it, not only on account of its more brilliant whiteness but as being much less liable to tear than chinese paper, and a ream of our paper was found to be a very acceptable present to a Mandarine.[2]

I dare say such stationery as I have described, when once generally known would be in demand in China. But the introduction of this and every other article must depend upon the arrangements to be made with the native merchants of

[1] In general the Company did not wish to be bothered with items of merchandise that did not sell in large quantities, preferring to leave such miscellaneous articles to the Private trade of the commanders and officers of its ships. See *infra*, Document No. 7, which will follow in a later number of this Journal

[2] Three chests of stationery were given to Van and Chou when they left the Embassy at Canton (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, No 354)

Canton, who, as in every first essay to introduce any where the commodities of distant Countries; must in some measure force at first a trade, by exciting new desires and fancies for those objects which People did not perceive the want of till they knew them. It is to be recollected how slowly and reluctantly most of the European commodities now in considerable demand, were accepted by the Chinese Merchants in the beginning of our traffic with Canton. Of many articles however it may be more difficult to encrease the sale, when some of the same, or of a superior quality, are to be had nearer or cheaper.

The Chinese have Copper mines; tho I fancy they are very imperfect metallurgists, and consequently work their mines to disadvantage; but, I understand, they send every year twelve large Chinese Junks each of several hundred Tuns burden, to Japan for some of the finest copper of that Country. Of tin, when beaten into thin leaves, the consumption is so general throughout the Empire that scarce a village is to be found without a Shop where those leaves hang for the daily and nightly use of the People in their Temples. The Malay tin has indeed been found more easily reducible into those minute divisions; but as I suppose the metal of both Countries is intrinsically the same, this accidental quality must probably be derived from some variety in the process of the reduction of the ore (such as using fuel perfectly freed from the smallest mixture of any particles of sulphur), which the advanced state of Chemistry in England might enable the artists there to find out and imitate, as a means of extending very much the sale of that article in China.

The Chinese are yet so much behind Europeans in regard to many conveniencies and luxuries of life, tho very far from being indifferent to the enjoyment of them, that the supply of such would swell the Catalogue of articles likely to be vendible here, much beyond what I have mentioned; but it would be needless to extend speculations of that nature further, until a return can be found of Commodities which

in quality and price would answer the European market. Of these, I have had little opportunity to add to what is already known, and fancy is so capricious that it might be hazardous to venture on foretelling what would suit it.

The Gentlemen of my Suite, to whom some pieces of nankeen of a beautiful scarlet dye have been presented, seem to be much taken with it; and if the Color be lasting, and the cost of it not very much higher than that of the common Nankeen, it might become a favourite wear, especially among our Military in the warm seasons of the Year. I do not mention sugar as a permanent article of export from hence, because I trust your own Territories will come to supply it in plenty, as long as it will bear the freight of an East India Voyage. Tho I have seen numberless plantations of the sugar cane in the provinces of Chiangsi [Kiangsi] and Canton [Kuangtung], and tho it be sold at a price that will admit of considerable profit in Europe under the present desolate state of St. Domingo, which abounded with so much sugar, yet a considerable quantity is imported here from Cochin china, and especially from the western coast of the Island of Formosa, in which places consequently it must be still cheaper.

The Chinese seem to understand the advantage of the division of labour in their great manufactures; by which means the daily wages be not very much inferior to what they are in England, yet by always employing the same Individual to one species, or subdivision of work, the whole is perfected with a dispatch that reduces the price much below the apparent pains bestowed upon it So that it is not improbable that any Chinese article of general manufacture which would suit our taste might be afforded upon terms that would admit of reasonable profit to the Company.

I must observe further that there seems no political prejudice to have existed here against the exportation of bullion in return for acceptable imports. when therefore the rate at which it passes at Canton is such as to make it advantageous to accept it as a remittance, none of the risks or difficulties

attendant upon drawing bullion from European Nations are likely to take place on similar occasions in this Country.

Of all methods indeed of procuring Chinese commodities on terms nearest to their original cost, none can certainly be so effectual as that of our being allowed to send our Ships in quest of them to the ports nearest to their growth; And yet it must be confessed that it might be a dangerous experiment to take any advantage of that permission, if it had already been obtained, until such a subordination shall be established by law among the British Sailors and subjects frequenting the Chinese Ports, and such other precautions taken jointly by Administration and the Company, as may most effectually tend to prevent those disorders among our People, which are likely to break out while left without control, and which the nearer They happened to the Capital of the Empire, the more alarm they would excite, and the more mischief they might occasion by some desperate resolution against our trading, on the part of the Chinese Government. But if the lower ranks of our people can be brought within proper regulation, so as not to offend the Chinese manners, and that some sort of connexion is contrived to be established with the superior Mandarins, I am inclined to believe that it is within our Power so to gain gradually upon them as successively to obtain from them most of the advantages they have hitherto refused us.

I do not find that there is in fact any fundamental regulation of the Empire prohibitory of foreign Commerce with their northern Ports. Such a reason is put forward only to conceal the real motive, which they do not chuse avowing, and which is their apprehension lest too great a communication with Strangers should interfere with that profound tranquillity and that awful submission among all Classes of Men the maintenance of which is in truth the ever-present and only inalterable maxim of this Government. Those apprehensions will gradually give way before the personal good opinion which Men in authority will learn to conceive

of us, when a familiar intercourse shall for any length of time be established with them.

I flatter myself that this good work may be said to be begun already in consequence of the growing terms of intimacy between the Viceroy [Ch'ang Lin] and the Principal Persons of the Embassy He is much superior to the petty Jealousies of the lower Mandarines, and I have succeeded in obtaining his permission to send in search of some of the Tea plants of which I have now in my possession several young growing trees, as well as several seeds fit for growth [1]; and I have got also some of the flowers which are sometimes mixed as I am assured with tea to encrease its fragrance; among your instructions you mention how extremely desirable it would be that Tea could be produced within the Territories of the Company in India, and you recommend the circumstance in the strongest manner to my attention, and among the papers delivered to me for my information by Mr. Dundas, is one written by Colonel Kyd [2] a gentlemen conversant in natural history and agriculture, who has a public garden in Bengal for the purpose of making useful experiments relative to the introduction of new plants This Gentleman mentions in the paper above alluded to that the tea would certainly answer in that part of your Indian possessions called Rungpoor [Rangpur, Bengal]

I perfectly concur with you in thinking on how many accounts it would be desirable to raise that plant in plenty and perfection in parts belonging to yourselves and independent of the Chinese dominions. I indulge myself therefore with the pleasure of foreseeing to what considerable plantations the few nurslings I have been able to procure may give rise in future, if managed with care and skill.

[1] The plants were obtained near the boundary between Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces. See *Macartney's Journal*, in Robbins, op. cit, p. 365 and *infra*. Document No 6, to be published in a later number of this Journal.

[2] Robert Kyd (1746–1793), who in 1786 laid out the botanical gardens near Calcutta which were later taken over by the Company (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, and C. E. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*).

I send them therefore without loss of time to Sir John Shore Governor General of Bengal, under the care of one of the Gentlemen of Science of my suite Dr. [James] Dinwiddie, whom I have selected for this purpose.[1] I take the same opportunity of sending also a few plants of the Tallow Tree, and the varnish Tree,[2] likewise in a growing state, the culture of each of which may prove beneficial in Bengal.

I send likewise a tree of that species of mulberry of which the leaves become the food of the silkworm in China. What that species was has been a matter of some uncertainty and any particular relative to the culture of silk in China is become interesting to you, on account of the improvement you desire in what your own territories produce. The Tree is allowed in China to attain its full growth and flourishes most in a flat and loomy soil, as the Tea tree seems to do on dry and rising grounds. I have employed a friendly Mandarine [through the agency of Ch'ang Lin] to make enquiries into every part of their silk manufacture agreeable to the queries you enclosed to me, and I shall send the result to Sir John Shore [see Document No. 6, in Part III of this article], together with a few of the Eggs of the Chinese silkworm which I had some difficulty in obtaining, as the People who rear them have a superstition of losing the whole brood if they part with the smallest portion of them. I understand

[1] Dr. James Dinwiddie accompanied the Embassy as "Machinist". He is not mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but there is a *Biographical Memoir of J Dinwiddie . . Compiled from His Notes and Correspondence* (Liverpool, 1868), by William Jardine Proudfoot, in the British Museum. See also *infra*, Document No. 6, to be published in Part III of this article.

[2] The tallow tree is *Sapium sebiferum* Roxb., called in South China 桕子樹 *Chiu-tzŭ shu*. Tallow was obtained from its seeds (S. Couling's *Encyclopædia Sinica*). In Staunton's account of the Macartney Embassy (*Authentic Account . . .*, ii, 430) it is identified as *Croton sebiferum* after Linnaeus, and in S. Wells Williams' time it was known as *Stillingia sebifera* (*Middle Kingdom* [1882], ii, 11). The varnish or lacquer tree is *Rhus vernicifera* D.C, called by the Chinese *Ch'i*, 桼 or 漆, from which comes the sap used in making lacquer varnish (Couling's *Encyclopædia Sinica*, and Williams, op. cit., ii, 30).

that a late celebrated *naturalist* of Sweden [1] has asserted that the insect bred in Japan and China for the sake of its worms, is somewhat different from those who answer that purpose elsewhere. It may be useful to ascertain the fact; and the worms I send to Bengal will answer that purpose as well as serve to propagate a new breed, if it should happen to be different from what is already reared there.

After the pains which were taken to procure from our cotton and porcelane manufactures persons conversant in those Branches and who might have been capable of observing with what difference either of improvement or inferiority the same were carried on in this Country, I am not surprised you should have supposed that I had the advantage of such persons with me in the Embassy; but notwithstanding my own and the repeated applications of others to Manchester, and to the porcelane Manufactories in Staffordshire and Shropshire, I was disappointed in my expectations; and I at last found that the failure arose in some degree from a jealousy which arose in some men's minds, of any Tradesmen sent with me remaining in China and communicating some of the most valuable processes of their art, instead of returning home fraught with new lights from hence I do not pretend to judge of the propriety of this cautious procedure; but it certainly deprived me of the assistance you were aware was necessary to enable me to collect any very accurate or important information relative to those branches of manufacture in this Country

Cotton is indeed an object of immense consumption in China, where it forms, generally dyed blue, the universal wear of the lower orders of the People, who add to its warmth in the winter by quilting shreds of wool between the folds, tho in the colder Provinces the skins of Sheep with their fleeces on are used as an outer Garment for a greater shelter

[1] Probably Karl Linnaeus (1707–1778). For the information obtained about silk culture see Staunton, op. cit., ii, 420 ff, and the last note appended to Document No. 7, to be published in Part III of this article.

against the severity of the season. The Chinese account for the late increased demand for cotton from abroad, by the increased population of the Country, and the supply of Cotton cloth to their late extensive conquests. But they do not mention the exportation of any out of their own dominions; and their chief manufacture is of the coarser sort unsuited to foreign consumption. I hope to be able to send you specimens and prices of their different piece goods. Tho there are plantations of Cotton in most of the Provinces of China, and many new ones I am informed lately undertaken, if I may judge from what I had an opportunity of observing in travelling thro the Country, its cultivation answers less the labor than in other parts of the World where I have seen it flourish. The plant is here of the diminutive species, called, I understand, the herbaceous cotton plant; very different from the cotton shrub of the West Indies, which answers best in a dry and sandy soil not distant from the sea, and where the periodical rains do not interfere with the time of the plants flowering, and expanding with full effect that downy substance adhering to the seed which constitutes the staple of the Cotton. Those circumstances being less favorable in China particularly in the interior Provinces, the demand for that article from abroad notwithstanding any efforts of the Chinese Planters to cultivate a sufficiency at home, is not likely soon to cease.

Of the cotton manufacture I should, without the assistance of people bred to that business, have been able to give no minute or accurate account even if the opportunity had been afforded me, but the Vice-Roy [Ch'ang Lin] has been so good to send a special Messenger for specimens of the different materials used in the composition of porcelane; and if his orders have been punctually obeyed,[1] those specimens which I shall forward to Sir Joseph Banks with the view of having them compared under the eye of Chemists and skilful artists

[1] No information of value regarding the manufacture of porcelain appears to have been obtained.

with the materials used in England for the same purpose, may afford an opportunity of judging if any improvement yet remains to be made in our own manufactures of the same kind.

No inconsiderable quantities of China porcelane together with other commodities of this Country are exported in their own vessels to Manilla, Borneo and Batavia and other places in the Chinese Seas, principally for the consumption of their Countrymen settled in those places, and whose industry and ingenuity contribute much to the prosperity of every place where they reside in numbers. Their vessels carry back spices of various kinds, and other productions of the warmer Climates; and this interchange forms the principal foreign commerce carried on by the Chinese in their own bottoms, so far as I have been able to learn [1]

But whatever may be deficient in the information which my hastened journey has enabled me to procure about this Country, may, I doubt not, be obtained hereafter and by means, sometimes even of European and Chinese Missionaries at Pekin and in the Provinces with whom some of the Principal Gentlemen of the Embassy have formed intimacies [2] which

[1] MSS. India Office, *China Canton Diaries*, contain tabular accounts of the junk trade of Canton for a number of years after 1793

[2] Sir George Leonard Staunton corresponded with Louis de Poirot (French ex-Jesuit) and Nicholas Joseph Raux (French Lazarist), both of whom were at Peking, and with Robert Hanna (Irish Lazarist), who accompanied the Embassy from Canton to Tientsin but was forced to return to Canton before obtaining permission to enter the Emperor's service at Peking Staunton's son, George Thomas, had some correspondence in 1802–3 with Louis François (Marie) Lamiot (French Lazarist), who, like Hanna, had accompanied the Embassy to Tientsin only to be forced to return to Canton, from which place he obtained permission to proceed to Peking For the text of the Missionaries' letters see E. H *Pritchard*, "Letters from Missionaries at Peking Relating to the Macartney Embassy," *T'oung Pao*, xxxi (1934), 31–55 Lord Macartney presumably also had in mind Joseph de Grammont (French ex-Jesuit), who wrote a number of letters to the Ambassador during the course of the Embassy (ibid, pp 8–24), and Jacob Ly and Paolo Cho, two Chinese trained in Naples, who accompanied the Embassy as interpreters and who remained in China as native Christian priests.

are to be kept up by occasional correspondence when the opportunity of friendly travellers may offer, for there is no regular open post for Individuals. It is in this way only that the Missionaries can be rendered useful to the Company, without any avowed connexion with it or the Supercargoes. The Missionaries were no doubt formerly very able to serve and no doubt did serve the temporal interests of their respective Nations. But the Portugueze [*sic*] alone can be said to do so now. The information the others can give to their English correspondents under the appearance of friendly or scientific communications cannot fail to be useful.

As I have for the present endeavoured to satisfy you on the principal points to which your instructions relate, it remains with me only to refer you to the enclosed particulars for the disposition of the Presents and specimens entrusted to my care, some few of which remaining in my hands I have delivered to your Commissioners here, tho I was forced at times to purchase others to add to what would be agreeable to the Emperor.[1] You will on this head have probably already learned thro your Commissioners at Canton, that there was reason to suppose very high expectations had been formed in the Emperor's mind of the presents he was to receive, and that it was consequently judged expedient to add to those I brought out from Europe for him a Herschel's reflector [telescope] belonging to Mr. Brown and the celebrated lens from Parker, which Captain Mackintosh had purchased on

[1] See *supra*, page 382, note 2 A list of the presents delivered to the Emperor is to be found in MSS. India Office, *China · Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 155–170; MSS Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, viii, Nos. 351–3. In addition to the presents purchased by the Company and sent out with the Embassy, valued at £15,610 (see *supra*, *JRAS.*, April, 1938, p 222), Macartney purchased from Henry Browne at Canton and from Captain Mackintosh and F. Macrae, surgeon of the *Hindostan*, various watches, guns, woollens, lens, and reflectors valued at about £3,781. Of these articles and of the presents originally sent, he consigned articles valued at £4,270 to the supercargoes at Canton or to Dr. Dinwiddie, making the total cost of presents and specimens delivered £15,121 (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, Nos. 345, 436*a*).

a speculation of much *probable profit*, but which he very handsomely gave up on this occasion to the Company.[1] The mention of his name makes it necessary for me to add as an act of Justice to him that he has thro the whole of this expedition whilst under my command conducted himself with great ability and attention to the Public Service. Besides the above mentioned articles I was under the necessity of providing others, among the rest some curious watches, either for the use of the Emperor or such considerable Persons of his Court, whom it was particularly desirable to attach to our Interest,[2] but of these articles I shall deliver most to your Commissioners to be sold for your account, as some of those Persons for whom part of such presents were intended proved inimical to us, and I did not chuse [*sic*] to dispose of any thing without a fair prospect of deriving from them some advantage to the Company.

The Brig Jackhall which had been purchased in England to attend the Lion was sent by me from Tien-sing to Canton to be sold by your Commissioners for the benefit of the Company.[3] The particulars also of my expenditure I trust will shew [*sic*] that I have not swerved from that economy in the disposition of the Public money without which I think no man worthy to be employed. I should not however have been backward in laying out considerable sums at the Court

[1] Herschel's telescope was obtained from Henry Browne at Canton and its probable value was about £200 Parker's lens was purchased at a cost of £773 (ibid , viii, No 345)

[2] A letter from Father Grammont dated at Peking, 30th August, 1793, advised Macartney that he should provide presents for the Emperor's sons and eldest grandson, and for several of the high officials As a result Lord Macartney purchased from Captain Mackintosh on 1st September, fifteen pairs of fine watches for £2,399. Only one pair, valued at £472, given to the Emperor as a personal present from Macartney, was used (Pritchard, *T'oung Pao*, xxxi [1934]. 19–20; MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, viii, No. 345).

[3] The *Jackall* was not sold at Canton, but sailed to India with the plants collected by the Embassy and sent to Sir John Shore under the direction of Dr. Dinwiddie (see below Document No 6 and MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xciii, 363) She was presumably disposed of in India.

of Pekin if the opportunity had offered of deriving from thence any material benefit; but it would have ill become me to have risked at random the property of the Company.

The Officers of the Wardroom of the Lion took their stations as they assert on board that Ship in the full confidence of being allowed batta in the same manner as it was allowed to the Officers of the Vestal, when sent out with Colonel Cathcart on a similar occasion and on the same principle which it is allowed to the Officers of the same station in the Navy serving in other parts of Asia It is possible, and the Gentlemen of the Lion are persuaded that the fact is so, that the omission of Batta for them in your letter [of 8th September, 1792] was merely accidental, however, and tho the sum is trifling, I declined paying any money upon that score until your pleasure should be ultimately known upon the subject.[1] In small as in great objects, it is my duty and inclination to support the rights and the interests of the Company and with these sentiments I remain, with great respect,

Gentlemen,

Yours most obedient and

most faithful humble Servant

MACARTNEY.

P S.—I have taken care to put the Viceroy sufficiently upon his Guard against confounding with British Subjects those of the United States of America, whom the People of Canton have already learned to distinguish under the name

[1] As early as 11th October, 1793, Captain Gower of the *Lion* had written to the Chairman of the Court of Directors calling attention to the fact that no provision had been made for paying the officers of the *Lion*, except himself, while the ship was in Chinese waters. When the Embassy arrived home Macartney again wrote to the Chairman about the matter, and was instructed to pay the officers £250 per year, being the allowance paid to similar ships in the Indian service (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, vii, No. 307; MSS. India Office, *China · Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 23-4, 521).

of Yankees. I have supplied the Viceroy with the appropriate flags of the respective Nations.

P.P.S —I have just received your letter of 15th March [1793], and 11th May [1793], the latter enclosing copies of correspondence between the Governor General of Bengal, the contending Rajas of Napaul and Lassa, and the Commander of the Chinese forces in Thibet. These papers are of great importance, as they will serve to detect the gross misrepresentations of this business by the Chinese General [Fu K'ang-an], and to which many of our difficulties at the Court of Pekin are to be ascribed.[1]

M.

(To be concluded)

[1] See *supra*, page 380, note 1 The letter of 15th March, 1793, is in MSS Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, vi, No 243, and that of 11th May, is referred to in one of 20th June, 1793 (No 258). The letter of 15th March, tells of the beginning of war with France and of the negotiations of 1793 for a renewal of the Company's Charter An effort to explain the Tibetan affair served as a pretext for an attempt to open a correspondence with the Peking government in 1795 (Pritchard, op cit, pp 372–3, Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 273–6).

The Instruments of Music on the Ṭāq-i Bustān Bas-Reliefs

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

(PLATES I–II)

THE famous Sāsānian bas-reliefs at Ṭāq-i Bustān, (A.D. 590–628) have so often been reproduced that it is highly probable that most Orientalists could picture the scenes in the mind's eye with little difficulty. Yet I do not suppose that any could give a correct delineation of the instruments of music contained therein for the simple reason that the reproductions of these sculptures have given so many different outlines for these instruments.

This contrariety is due to the fact that in the pioneer days of archæology, when the reproduction of works of art in this category was done by hand, and by non-musicians, much imaginative material was introduced, to say nothing of what was omitted. Even in the early days of photography, when the art was not so far advanced as it is to-day, the results left much to be desired.

In consequence of this, some of the instruments delineated in the Ṭāq-i Bustān bas-reliefs were so incorrectly outlined or so badly photographed by archæologists that musicographers, who only had these reproductions as their guide, were misled as to the species and type of instruments portrayed.

The instruments occur in two scenes: (1) *the boar hunt* and (2) *the stag hunt*. For convenience of description they may be subdivided into the following groups:—

(1) *The boar hunt.*
  (a) *Harpists in the royal barges.*
  (b) *Harpists in the minstrels' barges.*

(2) *The stag hunt.*
  (a) *Orchestra on the left-hand side.*
  (b) *Military Band on the right-hand side.*

§ 1

THE DELINEATION OF THE INSTRUMENTS

The first, in this country, to give us a glimpse of the instruments in the Ṭāq-i Bustān scenes was Edward Bunting who, in his *Ancient Music in Ireland* . . . (1809), included a representation of the harpists in the boar hunt, where the harps used in the minstrels' barge were given, although erroneously, the form of trigons, i.e harps with strings stretched over a trigonal frame.[1]

Then came the drawings in Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia* (1815). The harps shown in both groups of the boar hunt were not only wrongly given the same outline, but one could not determine the precise species because of the artist's omission of the determining factor—the position of the sound-chest In the stag hunt, all the harps were again given the same outline, and one could not fix the species for reasons given above. These were the only instruments that could be identified in this group. In the military band group only a trumpet could be recognized.[2]

Much better were the scenes in Sir Robert Ker Porter's *Travels in Georgia, Persia* . . . (1821–2). In the boar hunt, two species of right-angled harps, with a lower sound-chest and an upper sound-chest respectively, were clearly and correctly outlined in the two groups. In the stag hunt, the orchestra revealed, from left to right, a performer on an oboe or reed-pipe, a player on panpipes or a square tambourine, a performer on an instrument which was not shown, and a player of some kind of wind instrument Carl Engel, the well known nineteenth century musicographer, conjectured that this latter was a bagpipe.[3] The harps in the orchestra were

[1] p. 10 pl. iii, 9.

[2] Vol. i, p 258 the first two plates.

[3] *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (1874), p. 58.

all inexactly shown as acute-angled instruments with an upper sound-chest,[1] although Engel dubbed them trigons.

The next important contribution was the *Voyage en Perse de M.M. Eugène Flandin, peintre, et Pascal Coste, architecte . . .* [1843–1854]. In the boar hunt, the two species of harps, as recognized by Porter, were clearly delineated, although Flandin called one species a "lute". In the stag hunt, the instruments in the orchestra were scarcely an improvement on what had preceded. The first two performers were not given any instruments whilst the third and fourth players were shown holding what would naturally be taken for square tambourines but which we now know to be a misconception. The instruments in the military band were depicted in much the same way as Porter had done.[2]

It was not until Friedrich Sarre published his *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (1923), in which the illustrations were based on actual photographs, that we were able to get a real view of these instruments. Yet the photography left much to be desired, and the strings on the harps could not be discerned. In the boar hunt, his plates confirmed Porter and Flandin in the two species of harps. In the stag hunt, his plate showed, for the first time, that two species of harps also existed in the orchestra, and several new instruments, not hitherto delineated, were to be recognized in this group as well as in the military band.[3]

Yet it has been reserved for Dr. Arthur Upham Pope, the editor of the monumental *Survey of Persian Art*, to provide us with photographs which now enable us to determine, with almost practical certainty, not only the precise identity of these instruments but many details of construction, and it is to this savant that I am indebted for permission to publish enlargements of details from his photographs.[4]

[1] Pls. 63, 64.
[2] Tome i, p. 4; tome ii, pls. 10, 12.
[3] Nos. 86–7, 88–9.
[4] The complete scenes appear in *The Survey of Persian Art.*

§ 2

The Identification of the Instruments

In Persian lexicons much confusion exists where instruments of music are concerned. Much of this may be due to the misleading explanations of Arabic lexicographers, as I have frequently pointed out,[1] and even the great Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), who compiled an Arabic-Persian lexicon, had perforce to follow both the definition and the terminology of the former Although we have two precious authorities on Persian instruments of music—the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century) and the *Jāmi al-alḥān* of Ibn Ghaibī (fifteenth century)—we cannot depend too far on them when dealing with instruments in use during the Sāsānian era, *a thousand years earlier*. It is true that we have a few Pahlavī,[2] Persian,[3] and Arabic texts [4] that give us a number of names of instruments of music, and of recent years the subject has been discussed by Dr J M. Unvalla in *The Pahlavī Text · King Husrav and his Boy* (Paris, 1921), and by Professor A. Christensen in his "La Vie musicale dans la civilisation des Sassanides" in the *Bulletin de l'Association Française des Amis de l Orient*, Nos. 20–1 (Paris, 1936), but we still need much more information on the subject although what is offered in this contribution must still be considered probative.

The enlargements from Dr. Pope's photographs enable us to get a closer view of some of these Sāsānian instruments, although they may not be so clearly defined as they are in other Sāsānian art remains. The first two plates show the two species of harps in the boar hunt scene, viz. one with a lower sound-chest and another with an upper sound-chest.

[1] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, III, 528, IV, 986.

[2] Unvalla, as cited, and Benveniste, *JA*. (1932), p. 260. Professor H. W. Bailey informs me that Dr Unvalla's book must be used with caution.

[3] *Shāh nāma*

[4] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, VIII, 90–1; Al-Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des Perses*, trad par H Zotenberg, Paris (1900).

The former (Fig. 1) is the more interesting because it is the older and the more infrequent instrument. The horizontal sound-chest consisted of an oblong wooden box, whilst the vertical arm, which carried the tuning pegs, was solid. From fixtures or " pins " in the sound-chest the strings were stretched in a diagonal fashion to the tuning pegs. It is precisely the same species of harp as that found in the Sumerian Royal tomb (3rd millennium B.C.),[1] on the Assyrian bas-reliefs (seventh century B.C.) in the same museum,[2] and on the Sāsānian (?) silver dish in the collection of the Archæological Commission at Leningrad.[3]

Seemingly this species of harp was reserved for the special minstrels, as this is the instrument played by the harpists in the royal barges in the boar hunt at Ṭāq-i Bustān. On these instruments some ten strings may be discerned, and a similar number is to be found on the Assyrian instruments. In the stag hunt the leading harpist in the orchestra also plays an instrument of this species. A similar regality or importance attached to this harp may be noticed in several Assyrian scenes.

Elsewhere I have assumed [4] that the Persian name for this species of harp was *van*, a word which equates with the Arabic *wann*.[5] This latter is described by Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414) as being an instrument somewhat similar to the *ṣanj* or *jank*, i.e. the Persian *c̲h̲ang*.[6] Yet we know from a much earlier source, Al-A'sh̲ā' Maimūn (d. *ca.* 629), that the *wann* was different from the *ṣanj*,[7] the probable dissimilarity being, as we shall see, in the position of the sound-chest.

[1] *The Antiquaries Journal*, viii, October, 1928. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians*, pl. v.

[2] Engel, *Music of the Most Ancient Nations* (1870), p. 49.

[3] Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Nr. 110.

[4] *The Survey of Persian Art.*

[5] The Occidental Persian lexicographers in defining the *van* as a " cymbal " (*sinj, sanj*) played with the fingers, leads one to conclude that finger cymbals are meant, but the Persians are merely following the definitions of their Arabic predecessors who used the word *ṣanj*, a term which stood for both a harp and a cymbal. [6] *Al-Qāmūs*, s.v. [7] *Dīwān* (G.M.S.), p. 201.

The Persian *van* would be the Pahlavī *vōn* or *vūn*,[1] a word which can be equated with the Sanskrit *vīnā* (Hindi *bīn*),[2] the Coptic *boine* or *boini*, and the ancient Egyptian *bain-t* or *ban-t*.[3] Both the name and the instrument have long since fallen into desuetude in Persia and the Middle East.

The harp with the upper sound-chest (Fig. 2) has not the antiquity of that with the lower sound-chest, although we can trace it in Babylonian, Assyrian, Elamite, and Egyptian art.[4] Two types of this harp are shown on the Ṭāq-i Bustān bas-reliefs—one with a right-angled frame and another with an acute-angled frame. The former, which is found in the hands of the harpists in the minstrels' barge of the boar hunt, had a vertical sound chest which seems to have been an oblong box, not unlike the Egyptian instrument.[5] From nine to twelve strings may be counted on the various instruments shown in this scene These strings were possibly fixed to "pins" in the side of the sound-chest, as in the Assyrian and later Persian instruments, from which they were stretched to the tuning pegs on the horizontal arm below.

The acute-angled type (Fig. 3) with a distinct curve on the back of the sound-chest is delineated in the orchestra of the stag hunt scene We cannot tell the number of strings because the instruments are not delineated with sufficient precision, but the example shown on the Sāsānian flagon given in *Argenterie orientale*, Nr 65, reveals some fifteen strings,[6] and a similar number may be counted on the Elamite example

[1] Unvalla, op cit, pp 15, 27. He transliterates the word as *vin*. Professor Christensen writes *vīn*.

[2] See *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol 50, pp. 244–253 ; vol 51, pp. 47–50

[3] Budge, *Egyptian Dictionary*, pp. 202, 211, 216.

[4] Galpin, op cit Engel, *Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, p. 29. *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, tome iii, pl 23. Maspero, *Le Musée Egyptien*, Cairo, 1907, iii, pl. 40

[5] Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, p. 50.

[6] This flagon has been denied a Sāsānian origin and has even been dated as late as tenth to eleventh century.



FIG 1



FIG 2



FIG 3

SĀSĀNIAN INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC

[To face p 402.

at Kul-i Fir'aun,[1] and on one of the Assyrian examples also.[2] Both the Elamite and Assyrian instruments show what would appear to be sound-holes in the sound-chest.

The Pahlavī and Persian name of the harp with an upper sound-chest was *chang*,[3] a term which, in itself, meant "bent, crooked". It was the most important instrument of music in Sāsānian times and is given a prominent place in the festive scenes in the *Shāh nāma*.[4] It was the instrument which the famous minstrel Nikīsā played at the court of Khusrav Parvīz, and has been the theme for many a poet and painter. The *chang* has long since fallen into neglect in Persia [5]

The wind and percussion instruments have considerable interest, and these are to be found in the orchestra and military band in the stag hunt scene. The first performer in the orchestra, counting from the left, is clearly playing an oboe or reed-pipe [6] (Fig. 4). This would probably be the *nāy* (Pahl. Pers.), a term which, in the ordinary sense, meant "a reed" and then "a tube", but in its generic musical connotation referred to "a wood-wind instrument". In early times it stood specifically for an oboe,[7] although the term *sūrnāy*, later softened to *surnāy* and *surnā*,[8] was also used. Its strident tone made it admirably suited to outdoor music (*sūr* = festival), as we see in the Ṭāq-i Bustān scene. The legendary Jamshīd of the *Shāh nāma* is said to have been its inventor.[9]

The second instrumentalist of the band (Fig. 5) plays an instrument which cannot be identified so readily, but we may

[1] *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, tome iii, pl 23.

[2] Engel, op. cit, p. 31.

[3] Unvalla, 27.

[4] *Shāh nāma* (Mohl ed), iii, 292, 317. Mohl translates *chang* by "luth".

[5] Advielle, *La Musique chez les Persans en 1885*, p. 13. Pillaut, *Le Musée du Conservatoire national de Musique*, 2e Suppl, p 38.

[6] The oboe has a conical tube whereas the reed-pipe has a cylindrical tube.

[7] See my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 65–7.

[8] Al-Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, viii, 90. *Burhān-i qāṭi'*, s v.

[9] See my *Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 23.

suppose that it is a square tambourine, as the hands are in the conventional position for playing such an instrument. It may also be seen in the Qul-i Fir'aun group. We do not know its name. It could scarcely have been the *gambar* (Pahl.) or *chanbar* (Pers.), because, as the name itself suggests, this was a round tambourine.

The third and fourth instrumentalists (Figs. 6 and 7) play real mouth organs, not bagpipes, as Engel surmised. As I have already pointed out,[1] the instrument was identical with the Chinese *shêng*.[2] In Sāsānian times it was known as the *mustak* (Pahl.) and later as the *mushtaq sīnī* (Chinese *mushtaq*).[3] Neither Dr. Unvalla, Professor Christensen, nor the lexicons identify the *mustak*. Although the outlines on the bas-relief are indistinct, a fine example may be seen on a Sāsānian flagon shown in *Argenterie orientale*, Nr. 65, and in the *Gazette archéologique* (1886), xi.

The military band on the right-hand side of the stag hunt scene displays six instrumentalists in two rows, the upper row seated and the lower row standing. The first performer (Fig. 8) in the upper row appears to be playing a large kettledrum, probably the *kūs* mentioned in the martial scenes of the *Shāh nāma*.[4] With the Arabs of the tenth century the *kūs* was the largest of these drums.[5]

The second performer (Fig. 9) is undoubtedly playing a trumpet. Being the straight form of this instrument one might suggest that it was the *rūyīn nāy* (lit. brazen tube), another of the warlike instruments of the *Shāh nāma*,[6] rather than the *karranāy* which appears to have been a bent trumpet.[7]

The third performer (Fig. 10) seems to have a small kettledrum, perhaps two, before him, if the position of the arms

[1] *Encyclopædia of Islām*, ii, 541.
[2] Van Aalst, *Chinese Music* (1884), 80.
[3] See my *Studies* . . ., ii, 9–10, for further details.
[4] *Shāh nāma* (Mohl ed.), i, 198, 228, 298, 418, 468; ii, 4.
[5] Ikhwān al-Safā', *Rasā'il* (Bombay ed.), iii, 91.
[6] *Shāh nāma*, i, 420.
[7] See *infra*.



FIGS 4 5 6 7



FIGS 8 9 10



FIGS 11 12 13

SĀSĀNIAN INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC

[To face p 404

and the general contour of the object or objects are taken into consideration. Such an instrument would probably be the *tās* (Pahl.) or *ṭāsa* (Pers.),[1] as Unvalla and Christensen have surmised. The *ṭāsa* is still a small kettledrum in India.[2]

The first two performers (Figs. 11–12) in the lower row play straight trumpets similar to the second performer in the upper row, although Professor Christensen avers that the instrument is a trombone![3]

The third performer (Fig. 13) plays a waisted drum, i.e. one in which the body of the instrument is narrow in the middle and wide at the ends. If we can accept the lexicons on this point, the instrument was probably the *tabīr* or *tabīra* of the *Shāh nāma*,[4] of which the *tabūrak* of the Pahlavī texts would be a diminutive.[5]

§ 3

Other Sāsānian Instruments

The Persians of Sāsānian days knew of many more instruments than those delineated in the Ṭāq-i Bustān scenes, as we know from other art remains and from the many names of instruments which are to be found in Pahlavī, Persian, and Arabic texts.

Perhaps the most famous of these instruments was the *barbūt* (Pahl.) or *barbuṭ* (Pers.), a barbiton or mandore, or what one might call a lute with a hollow neck.[6] The name is said to be due to the form of the instrument which resembled

[1] Unvalla, 28.

[2] Tagore, *Yantra kosha*, 102; *Short Notices* . . ., 39. At the same time we must recognize that *ṭāsāt*, according to Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), were the musical cups used like the modern *harmonica*.

[3] Christensen, 33.

[4] *Shāh nāma*, i, 137.

[5] Unvalla, 28, quoting from the Avesta texts.

[6] See my article in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iv, 985–6, my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 95–6; and my *Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 36, 41.

the breast of a duck (*bar* = breast, and *bat* = duck), an explanation which was given as early as the tenth century.[1] According to the art remains, notably one given in *Argenterie orientale*, Nr. 64, it had four strings, a point confirmed by Khālid ibn al-Fayyāḍ (d. *ca.* 718).[2] It was the instrument which the famed minstrel Bārbad played at the court of Khusrav Parvīz.

Next in order of importance was the *tambūr* (Pahl.) or *tanbūr* (Pers.). This was the pandore or long-necked lute. The Persian lexicographers say that the word was originally *dunbara* because its long, slender neck was like a lamb's tail (*dunba* = tail, and *bara* = lamb).[3] An early example of this instrument, from Susa, dating probably from the Kassite period, may be seen in the Louvre, Paris.[4] The large pandore appears to have been called the *tambūr-i mas* (Pahl.), a name which, we may suppose, would equate with the modern *tanbūr-i buzurg*.

I have already surmised that the Sāsānians called their harp with a lower sound-chest the *vōn* or *vūn* (Pahl.), which later was softened to *van* (Pers.). Seemingly they had another of these instruments with open strings known as the *kannār* (Pahl.),[5] a name suspiciously like the Hebrew *kinnōr*, the Arabic *kinnāra*, and the Sanskrit *kinnarī*. Yet, although we can trace the Hebrew instrument to antiquity, the Sanskrit word does not occur earlier than the commentator Maheśvara and the *Sangīta ratnākara*.

Although it has been supposed[6] that the *kannār*, like the *kinnōr* and *kinnāra*, was a cithara,[7] it may have been quite different. This reservation is due to the mention of an Indian

[1] *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 238.

[2] *JRAS* (1899), 59. Al-Tha'ālibī, 705. The dish showing Eros (?) playing a lute of three double strings may not be Sāsānian. See *Argenterie orientale*, Nr. 93.

[3] See my article on the *Evolution of the Ṭunbūr* in the *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, v, 26–7.

[4] *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, tome vii, pls. xxvii, xxviii. Galpin, op. cit., pl. viii.

[5] Unvalla, 15. [6] Christensen, 30. [7] Farmer, *Studies* . . ., ii, 31.

instrument called the *kingira* by the Arabic authors Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868) and Al-Mas'ūdī (d. *ca.* 957).[1] The latter describes the instrument as having "one string stretched over a [frame, the sound-chest of which was a] gourd". Even in the fourteenth century the *kingira* was still a favourite in Persia,[2] and Chardin testified the same in the seventeenth century.[3]

A combination of the two Sāsānian instruments just mentioned was known as the *vōn kannār* or *vūn kannār* (Pahl.). What the specific structure of this instrument was we can only conjecture. Professor Christensen, who looks upon the *vōn* (= *vīn*) as a lute, and the *kannār* as a cithara, calls it a lute-cithara.[4] Dr. Unvalla, on the authority of Dr. Curt Sachs, states that it was "a long-necked lute with its body [= sound-chest] in the shape of an ostrich egg",[5] a definition based, it would seem, on Tagore's description of the Indian *kinnarī vīṇā* in his *Yantra kosha.*[6]

The *shīshak* (Pahl.) of Sāsānian times is another elusive instrument. Dr. Unvalla, on the authority of Dr. Curt Sachs, points out that the modern *shīshak* is a four-stringed *rabāb*,[7] i.e. a viol. As I have shown elsewhere,[8] the name occurs in many forms, which is usual with loan words, and may be found in the Arabic *shūshak* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (tenth century),[9] and the Persian *ghishak* of the *Kanz al-tuḥaf*

[1] Al-Mas'ūdī, viii, 92. The text in both authors has كنكلة which would appear to be a copyist's slip for كنكرة. Cf. my *Studies* . . . , i, 62.

[2] *Sharḥ maulānā*, British Museum MS., *Or* 2361, fol. 76 v.

[3] *Voyages en Perse* (1735), tome iii, p. 160, pl. xxvi (F).

[4] Christensen, 30

[5] Unvalla, 27.

[6] *Yantra kosha* (in Bengālī), Calcutta (1875), p 24: and the same author's *Short Notices of Hindu Musical Instruments* (in English), Calcutta (1877), p 20.

[7] This word, through a printer's error, is written *rehāb*, i.e. an *h* instead of a *b*. The mistake is hardly worth mention, but the same slip occurs in several books.

[8] *JRAS.* (1935), 353 *Studies* . . , ii, 28, 32.

[9] *Rasā'il* (Bombay ed.), iii, 97. The text has شوشل which must be a copyist's slip for شوشك.

(fourteenth century).[1] In the former probably, and in the latter undoubtedly, it was a bowed instrument, as it is to-day in Turkestan The Sāsānian *shīshak* could scarcely have been an instrument of this kind because we have no evidence of the bow as a musical implement prior to the ninth century.[2] It is far more likely that the Sāsānian *shīshak* was akin to the Indian *ghoshaka* (Sanskrit), a species of *vīnā* mentioned in the *Nātya śāstra* (fifth century).

Dr Unvalla has also supposed that the *kapīk* (Pahl.) was a viol He says that the modern Persian word *kapī* stands for a monkey, and since there is in India a viol called the *ṭā'ūs* (peacock), the sound-chest of which is in the form of this bird, he assumes that the *kapīk* was "surely a music-instrument played with a bow, whose body [= sound-chest] had the form of a monkey".[3] For reasons expressed above we cannot admit that the *kapīk* was a viol At the same time it ought to be pointed out that on the flagon attributed to the Sāsānian period there is an unidentified musical instrument in the framework of which an animal, perhaps a monkey, is represented.[4]

It is true that an instrument called the *rubāb* is mentioned in the *Shāh nāma* [5] but, unlike the Arabian *rabāb*, the Persian *rubāb* was not a viol, not even in the fourteenth century.[6] The latter was a lute with a waisted sound-chest, the face or "belly" being covered with a membrane, and an example (eighth to ninth century) may be seen in Koechlin and Migeon's *Oriental Art* (1925), pl. 1 [7] It was not unlike the modern *rubāb* of Persia Turkestan, and Afghanistan

We have already seen that the straight trumpet was probably the *rūyīn nāy*, but in addition to this instrument

[1] King's College Library, Cambridge, MS 211, fol 20
[2] *JRAS* (1930), 775 et seq Farmer, *Studies* , i, 99
[3] Unvalla, 29
[4] *Argenterie orientale*, Nr 65
[5] *Shāh nāma*, iii, 317.
[6] *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, fol. 20 v
[7] The *rasan* of the Pahlavī text (Unvalla, 28), may very well be a copyist's slip for *ravav* (= Pers. *rubāb*).

there were three others of the same group mentioned in the *Shāh nāma*. The *karranāy* is frequently introduced into the battle scenes,[1] and in the fifteenth century it was a bent trumpet, as stated by Ibn Ghaibī.[2] The word is also written *qarnāy*, *karnāy*, and *karnā*, which suggest a Semitic origin (Assyr. *qarnu*, Heb. *qeren*, Arab. *qarn*), although Persian lexicographers hint that it may originally have been *kharnāy* (*khar* = ass), probably on account of its hoarse tone. Certainly its tone was sometimes likened to an ass's bray [3]

Two instruments of the trumpet or horn kind, made probably of animal horn, were the *shaipūr* and *būq*, both mentioned in the *Shāh nāma*.[4] The *shaipūr*, a word which reminds us of the Assyrian *shapparu*, the Hebrew *shōphar*, and the Arabic *shabbūr*, was doubtless a crooked animal horn. An instrument of this form appears to be delineated on the Sāsānian silver dish in the British Museum, where it is to be found in the hands of the lowest figure [5]

I suggested to Professor Arthur Christensen that the Pahlavī *spar*, occurring as the name of a musical instrument,[6] may possibly be a copyist's slip for the Pahlavī equivalent to the Persian *shaipūr*. He does not accept my theory, although he does not deem it impossible.

The *būq* may be the instrument delineated on the Sāsānian dish in the collection of the Archæological Commission at Leningrad, where six military trumpeters are shown with instruments in the shape of animal horns.[7]

Among the wood-wind instruments there are very few names of which we can be certain. Dr. Unvalla's suggestion that the *vanjak* (Pahl.) might be equated with the Indian

[1] *Shāh nāma*, i, 137, 228, 334.

[2] *Jāmi' al-alḥān*, Bodl Library MS., *Marsh*, 282, fol. 80.

[3] *JRAS.* (1936), 30. Farmer, *Turkish Instruments of Music*, 32.

[4] *Shāh nāma*, i, 198, 386, 470.

[5] *Argenterie orientale*, Nr. 66. Dalton, *The Treasures of the Oxus* (2nd ed.), p. 211.

[6] Unvalla, 28; Christensen, 30.

[7] Sarre, op. cit., Nr. 105.

flute *vaṁśikā* (Sanskrit) seems to be quite acceptable.[1] His identification, supported by Professor Christensen, of the *mār* (Pahl.) as the oboe, needs further proof.[2] I have already said that the *nāy* was an oboe or reed-pipe. It was a martial instrument[3] and as such was more likely to have been an oboe rather than a "fife" as M. Benveniste translates the term.[4] Indeed Al-Tha'ālibī, translating from the Pahlavī, speaks of the "single *nāy*" (*al-mizmār al-awḥad*)[5] so as to distinguish it from the "double *nāy*" or *dūnāy*.

The *dūnāy* was a double oboe or reed-pipe, better known to Turanian peoples as the *kūshnāy* or *qūshnāy*. It is mentioned by Al-Mas'ūdī (tenth century) as one of the instruments "invented" by the Persians.[6] The instrument may be seen in the hands of one of the Elamite musicians on the Niniveh bas reliefs in the British Museum.[7]

The *shamshīr* (Pahl.) has not been identified,[8] but there is the Kurdish *shamshāl*, an oboe, which may be a survival of this instrument.

Two names of drums may be added to those already mentioned. The *dumbalak* (Pahl.) or *dunbalāk* (Pers.),[8] was probably a small drum with a cylindrical body. The *dunbal* or *danbāl* (Pers.) of which the above is a diminutive, was still popular in the seventeenth century.[9] The *tumbak* (Pahl.)[10] or *dunbak*, *tunbak*, *tanbūk*, *tunbūk* (Pers.) was a goblet-shaped drum in the seventeenth century,[11] and was certainly not a bagpipe as some lexicographers aver.

[1] Unvalla, 28.

[2] Unvalla, 28. Christensen, 30.

[3] *Shāh nāma*, i, 298.

[4] *J.A.* (1932), 260.

[5] Al-Tha'ālibī (Zotenberg ed.), p. 705. Al-Fārābī refers to the instrument as the *mizmār waḥid*. See Kosegarten, *Lib. cant.*, 98.

[6] Al-Mas'ūdī, viii, 90. The text has دیانی. Al-Fārābī has the same. See my *Studies* . . ., i, 57–8.

[7] Engel, op. cit., p. 58.

[8] Unvalla, 28. Christensen, 30.

[9] Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum* . . . (1712), 740, Nr. 4.

[10] Benveniste, *J.A.* (1932), 260. The editor suggests *tumba[la]k*.

[11] Kaempfer, op. cit., Nr. 6.

Other instruments of percussion were the *sīl* (Pahl.)[1] or *zīl* (Turk.). This term was probably used for the small finger cymbals, played in pairs, known nowadays as the *sinj* or *zinj*,[2] although they carry the older name in some Islāmic countries.[3]

The *zanchīr* (Pahl.) or *zanjīr* (Pers.)[4] must have been, as the name suggests, a jingling chain like the modern *dabbūs* or *dubbūs* (Arab.) of the dervish fraternities, consisting of a sceptre with chains attached.

Finally, the art remains show us two other percussion instruments of the Sāsānian era, viz. the frame cymbals and the rattle, although we do not know their names in Pahlavī. The frame cymbals have been known as the *chaghāna* or *chaghana* (Pers.) since the thirteenth century at least.[5] Hoary legend says that the mythical Sīrkhudā of the *Shāh nāma* was its "inventor".[6] It consisted of a frame like a pair of tongs, the open extremities being furnished with small cymbals which sounded when the extremities were closed together. A representation of the Sāsānian *chaghāna* is to be found in *Argenterie orientale*, Nr. 78, and in Curt Sach's *Die Musikinstrumente der alten Agyptens*, p. 22. An instrument of a simpler type may be seen on a fifth century silver dish given in Sarre's *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Nr. 111.

The rattle is known in Persia of modern times as the *qāshiq*. It is a Turkish word which means a spoon or ladle. The instrument of music consists of two pieces of wood hollowed out like ladles, the concave parts being placed together after the two hollow cavities have been filled with small sonorous substances, generally sonnettes, so as to produce a jingle or rattle. What would appear to be this instrument may be seen in the left hand of the female figure

[1] Unvalla, 28.
[2] Advielle, op. cit., 14
[3] Villoteau, *Desc. de l'Égypte, état moderne*, i, 980–1.
[4] Unvalla, 28.
[5] Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.*, iii, 491.
[6] Farmer, *Turkish Instruments of Music* . . . , 10.

on the left side of the monarch in the scene depicted on the Sāsānian silver dish in the British Museum.[1] The name *qāshiq* may have been known in Pahlavī if we can allow that Dr. Unvalla's *kapīk* is a copyist's slip for *kashīk*.

The number and diversity of instruments of music used in Persia during the Sāsānian period are an eloquent testimony to the highly developed art of instrumental music at that time. Not only do the stories show how much instrumental music was appreciated in these days, but the art remains confirm the statements in every way.

[1] Dalton, loc cit *Argenterie orientale*, Nr 66

The Ancestral Message

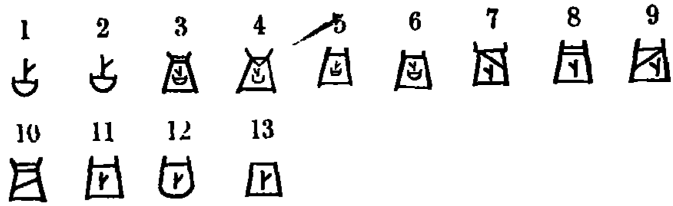
BY L. C HOPKINS

IN the passage of nearly forty years since the first discovery of the Honan relics and their strange inscriptions, great has been the progress in their decipherment. How much and how solid this gain in knowledge has been, the present writer can perhaps appreciate better than more recent students, when he looks back at his own notes and the correspondence that passed between the late Mr. Frank Chalfant and himself.

However, despite the competence and untiring industry of the scholars of *Academia Sinica* and others, there remain a fair number of recurring and obstinate forms in the Honan inscriptions that have so far defied detection. But there are others. On the fringe, as it were, of these obstructive diehards there are a number of archaic forms of which different Chinese specialists have deduced different and mutually incompatible modern equivalents. Thus, for example, a character occurring in the title of one Shang Sovereign has been equated by one expert with the word for sheep, by another with an ethnic and family name, and by a third with the word for dog.

It is with one of these borderland groups, at present ranged in a kind of suspense account, that this paper is concerned. Guided, and in a sense encouraged, by the criticism and insight of a now well-known Chinese specialist, Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, I hope to effect a "liquidation" of certain embarrassing difficulties of decipherment, and some "clarification" of obscurities attendant on the novelty of forms involved.

A selection of thirteen examples taken from published Chinese works on this subject will illustrate and explain the thesis, notes, and translations that follow. Those examples immediately below are from Mr. Jung Kêng's 殷契卜辭 *Yin Ch'i Pu T'zŭ*, vol. 3, p. 9, as illustrated in that work.



This list is an adequate selection from the thirty-six forms cited by Jung in three adjoining but separate columns of entries in volume 3 He attempts no identification with any known modern character, but contents himself by saying ' *Not found in the Shuo Wên* ", and inventing a modernized *representative*,

There are two preliminary observations to be made on the members of the above group In the first place the forms numbered 1 and 2 are essentially the same as the Lesser Seal and the modern versions, 占 *chan* " to divine ". Only two examples on the Bones are known to me. They are cited by Shang Ch'êng-tsu in his *Yin Hsu Wên Tzŭ Lei Pien*,[1] and occur in Lo Chên-yu's work, vol. 4, p. 25, and vol. 8, p 11, and Shang, in this following Lo Chên-yu, observes that it is uncertain whether these are identical with those placed within an enclosure, such as Figs 3 to 6 And his caution seems wise. But, further, these two forms differ from all the remaining ones in being unenclosed in any surrounding outline. Now this surrounding outline varies considerably, and in the simpler instances tends to lose the peculiarity of the original norm, as seen in No 3.

And this norm was, I am convinced, based and modelled upon a much stylized version of some animal scapula, some such ideal figure as , diagrammatized as . Within this boundary we find several small lines and combinations of lines, thus a diagonal line / in No. 10, and in Nos. 7 and 9 \ or / , with or below the diagonal; with *pu* alone; finally with or (= 占 *chan*).

[1] 殷虛文字類編, sect 3, p 20

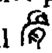
Here, then, we are brought up against the puzzling question, Are all these distinguishable forms variations of a single type, and due to less or more conscious contraction, or are they not? It is the aim of this paper to show that the answer is to negative the single origin, to argue for the existence of two types, and to draw certain conclusions.

The first type appears in the four examples numbered 3 to 6 All the remainder fall under the second.

To my regret I have been hitherto unable to ascertain what is Mr. Kuo Mo-jo's view of this first compound, or with what modern character he would equate it. *I must therefore propose my own solution. In the first place I agree with the* conclusion of Mr. T'ang Lan 唐蘭, that this type should be read 占 *chan.* And it will be pertinent to add parenthetically a remark by the same writer on the brief and too compressed definition of the *Shuo Wen* of this character 占 *chan*, viz. 視兆問也 *shih chao wên yeh* "to scan the omen and inquire", on which T'ang observes, 則旣卜之問 *tsê chi pu chih wên* "so then an inquiry made after the scorching", 已卜得兆發書而占其事也 *i pu tê chao fa shu erh chan ch'i shih yeh* "is, after the scorching, getting the omen, and putting it into writing, to apprehend the event". This expansion of Mr. T'ang is lucid and helpful.

To return to the configuration of Type 1. This has been treated by the group of modern Chinese scholars in discussing the character in their comments and notes as though the outline were identical with 囗 *wei*, the *Shuo Wen's* 226th Radical and the Kanghsi Dictionary's 31st Though obviously convenient, this equation is misleading. For the original two sidelines are not parallel, the upper and lower terminals are in no way complementary, and the laterals are mostly continued beyond the upper crossline, and sometimes flare.

At this point I feel the urge to throw my bomb and if it should prove only a damp squib it would only be following a fair number of precedents in earlier numbers of the *Journal.*

I cannot at present prove it, but I suspect that our Type 1 is the actual if not the putative parent of the modern character 骨 *ku* "bone" (Lesser Seal ), but only so far as the outline is concerned and not when the whole complex with its contained 占 is in question. When this complex, see Figs. 3 to 6, is examined, it is found to occur frequently on the Bones in one phrase of three words, and in that phrase only. Assuming *provisionally* the equation of those Figs. 3 to 6 with 占 *chan*, we shall find that this phrase is always introductory to passages of varying length and import. It runs thus in modern Chinese, 王 占 曰 *Wang chan yueh* "The Royal response says . . ." If the equation with 占 *chan* is challenged the only possible alternative word that I can see would be 兆 *chao* "omen", a character that has not yet been discovered on the Honan inscriptions If 兆 *chao* and not 占 *chan* were accepted as the reading, the sense of the formula would be left unchanged, for the context would provide a pragmatic justification of the word "response" in either case We take note that the words, "The Royal response says," is sometimes followed by the character 吉 *chi* "favourable", "auspicious", but sometimes other and longer clauses form the predicate

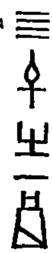
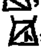
Finally, before leaving this initial formula of three words, it is necessary to ask who is meant by Wang, the King, whose response follows immediately? At first sight we should take it to refer to the reigning Shang Sovereign. But this would be to misunderstand the term as here used. For just as the expression 王 賓 *Wang Pin* "the Royal guest", continually occurring on the Honan Relics, and connoting an apotheosized ancestor, does not refer to living "Princely guests", as the earlier Chinese commentators (followed by Legge) supposed,[1] but to those unseen but prepotent Presences whose favour and help it was a pious and not quite disinterested duty to beseech

[1] See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol 3, part 2, p. 452

with prayer and appetizing adjuncts.[1] So here in the case before us the royalty 王 *Wang* is not the Sovereign regnant, but a deceased ascendant in the same genealogical line. To conclude otherwise would be to suppose that a Shang-Yin King would maintain a staff of expert diviners, as we know these rulers did, and then, the case arising, refuse or neglect to make use of their services.

* * * * *

We come to the scrutiny of the second type, Figs. 7 to 13.

This, as regards its *outline*, is either identical with that of Type 1, or a mere simplified contraction of it. But as a complex it stands for an entirely different word. But what word? And here I propose to let Mr. Kuo Mo-jo explain his views and conclusions on the character  in his own way in a note on Bone 1428, translated from the passage on p. 189 of his 殷契粹編考釋 *Yin Ch'i Sui Pien K'ao Shih.* He writes: "The character  I for a long time deciphered as 繇 *chou* or *yu*, holding that it depicted the omen marks presented by the scorching of bone. Later, on certain characters incised on an articular concave surface, 骨臼 *ku chiu*, I found a passage running thus  and deciphered the latter form as 冎 *kua*, signifying 骨窠 *ku wo* 'bone cavity'. The form , being a carelessly written version of these two examples  *a*,  *b* [which both occur on Bone 1428 in the collection Kuo is describing], becomes when abridged  or . Hence we may suspect that wherever we find the couplet   it is always 亡 冎, to be read as 無禍

[1] See my "Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty", in *JRAS.*, January, 1917, p. 85.

wu huo [= 無禍 *wu huo*] 'no mischance'. But unfortunately there was no absolute proof. Now that we have this specimen before us [viz. Bone 1428, see above, Figs. *a* and *b*], this suspicion becomes a positive certainty.

"In the oracular sentences the formula 貞旬亡𡆥 *chêng hsun wu huo* 'Inquired whether in the coming ten days there would be no mischance', occurs numberless times, but on the Bone before us the third entry is singular in having 火 *huo* 'fire', as the last character. Now 火 *huo* and 猧 *huo* are of the same phonetic series 同紐 *t'ung niu* [viz. in this case gutturals], while their finals are also very near. And in archaic speech 火 *huo* was pronounced *huai* [Kuo writes this in alphabetic script], and 猧 *huo* was pronounced *hua* [*sic*], so that they were mutually borrowable, 故得通假 *ku tê t'ung chia* Hence, that 𡆥 is 冎 *kua* and is [also] 猧 *huo* cannot be disputed, 是則𡆥之爲冎爲猧確不可易矣 By the time of 帝乙 *Ti I* (the penultimate Shang-Yin sovereign, approx. 1191 B.C.), for the character 𡆥 was substituted the character . This form is composed with an animal shape resembling a dog, but, in fact, *not* a dog I," Kuo continues, "at first deciphered this as 猷 *yu*, but now find the truth to be that it is a pictogram plus 冎 *kua* as phonetic, and thus is[1] the syllable 猓 *kuo* of the term 猓然 *kuo jan*, 乃猓然之猓也 *nai kuo-jan chih kuo yeh*" [Probably the Proboscis monkey, *Nasalis larvatus*.]

I must summarize Kuo's more detailed final paragraph of the argument The *kuo-jan*, he maintains, is a kind of ape like the 狖 *wu*, which has an upturned proboscis and long tail 仰鼻長尾 *yang pi ch'ang wei*, a description exactly suiting the pictographic part of , which composite must therefore be 猓 *kuo*, and in virtue of the principle of borrowing characters having the same finals, would be 猓 *huo* "mishap", 而以同音假借爲猧 *erh i t'ung yin chia chieh wei huo.*

[1] "thus stands for" is what the writer really means

"In this way," he says, "the characters meet the requirements exactly, 如此則字字順適矣 *ju tz'ŭ tsê tzŭ tzŭ shun shih i.*" Thus Kuo Mo-jo. In the first part of his argument he carries me with him. It is only in his endeavour to show that  is composed with a figure *not* of a dog but of an ape, and is the original of the character now written 猓 *kuo*, that I have to part company with him. In my view this right-hand element *is* meant for dog, and when compared with other comparable forms is indistinguishable from that character when in combination. What is more, Kanghsi's Dictionary supports me by containing the modern representative 猧 *wo* "name of a dog". However, whether the beast apparently climbing up the character  is a dog or an ape is immaterial to my present purpose, for both Mr. Kuo and myself agree that the left-hand element is in modern guise 冎 said to be read *kua*. (According to the *Shuo Wen*, this meant to scrape the flesh from a man's body and dispose of the bones 置其骨也 *chih ch'i ku yeh.*)

At this point we must note the existence of a rare, perhaps unique, compound, , reasonably treated by Mr. Kuo as the forerunner of the well-known so-called phonetic 咼 *kua*, explained by the *Shuo Wen* as "a twisted mouth", perhaps an explanation by Hsu Shên at a venture. At any rate, that cannot account for its appearance, preceded by 王 *wang* "royal" on the fragment illustrated by Kuo Mo-jo on his No. 1427. Here it stands in a desolate isolation near a jagged fracture, and what the two characters of the truncated entry are trying to say we do not know, but certainly it was not "The king with the twisted mouth".

Before emerging from the ossuary in which our explorations have been conducted, we should turn a flashlight on two rather commonplace characters 别 *pieh* and 歹 *ngêh* (according to Karlgren the ancient reading was *ngât*), but later and now *tai* "bad". No one would suppose that the first of these

characters, 別 *pieh*, had anything to do with bones whether complete or in fragments. But it had, before the *li*, or modernized writing had disguised its left side from the original 冎 *kua* to the present erroneous 另 *ling*, which should have been 叧, the intermediate form preserved by the 玉 篇 *Yü P'ien* Dictionary. Kanghsi inserts 冎刂 as the original scription of *pieh*, defined by the *Shuo Wen* as 分 解 也 *fên chieh yeh* "to divide by disparting", a tautological expression certainly, but a painfully exact rendering in English nevertheless

The other remaining character is 歹 *tai* and need not detain us long. The modern form should have been , representing the Lesser Seal , which itself is a scarcely modified shaping of the component in  and  *ssŭ* 死 "dead", where a slight simplification of 冎 *kua* is seen.[1]

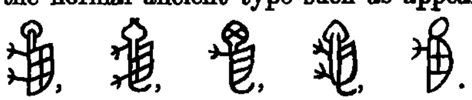
This paper concludes with a strange compound character which unfortunately has not been "liquidated", and far from being reduced to a solution, must remain for the present in a sticky and colloidal condition. This character is uncommon and occurs only on the Honan Bones, and there only in a single formula, it is  and , a combination of a trifling variation of what we have seen above to be 冎 *kua*, and a unique minimal curve, detached but placed close to the right-hand lower corner of the *kua*. This tiny adjunct is unknown elsewhere, and its functional purpose is not clear. Another noticeable fact about this character, and about the formula in which it is the second word, is its obvious analogy with the second word of the formula given on p. 416, which runs 王 占 曰 吉 *wang chan yueh chi* "The Royal Response says Favourable". So in this other formula we find 王  曰 吉 *wang* [?] *yueh chi*, in other instances 大 吉 *ta chi* or 弘 吉 *hung chi* "greatly favourable" or "vastly favourable".

[1] See *Lo Chên-yü, Hou Pien* 下, p. 32, and *Ch'ien Pien*, 5, 41.

Clearly in these two formulae we have two almost identical or closely similar predications (which are also predictions) by the royal and ancestral respondent, though this does not enable us to equate the second character with a modern equivalent. But it greatly narrows the field of choice. And further it provides a reason why I cannot accept the conjecture or suggestion of Kuo Mo-jo [1] that 𠂤, is the primitive form of 乩 *chi* (in the *Shuo Wen* written 卟), for the *Shuo Wen's* definition of the latter character is 卜以問疑也 *pu i wên i yeh* "by the scorching process to inquire about doubtful matters". This is a definitely questioning procedure and would not make sense if adopted in the formula above.

I had originally meant to end here, not because I had nothing more to say, but because the available evidence regarding the above character 𠂤, did not to me seem sufficiently favourable to a long entertained suspicion on my part of the real structure and meaning of this ambiguous form to warrant my propounding it in this *Journal*. But quite lately chance, where I could least have expected to meet it, seems now to justify me in urging a more confident argument.

This is in short that our ambiguous character is an ancient variant of the character 龜 *kuei* "tortoise", but not a variant of the normal ancient type such as appears below.[2]



A B C D E

Quite otherwise in fact, and if a tortoise at all, one of strong nonconformist tendencies, in whose testudinal convictions legs are a vanity suited only to those frivolous congeners who are marsh-bound and of the mud muddy. When the legs have been liquidated as superfluous, and the head modified

[1] Cited in the 甲骨學(文字編), *Chia Ku Hsüeh* (*Wên Tzŭ Pien*), sect. 3, p. 21.

[2] A: *Tsang Kuei Chih Yü*, p. 17. B: *Yin Ch'i I Ts'un*, Bone 959. C: *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, 4, 55. D: *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, *Hou Pien* 下, p. 19. E: *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, 4, 54.

as in Fig. E, there remain the body and the tail. With regard to the former of these, we may take 甹 as a fair average norm, and it is a reasonable supposition that the main element of our ambiguous form is based on this, and not, as Kuo Mo-jo assumes, on the early scription of 冎 *kua* There is still the small curling tail, present in most of the variants, to be accounted for. In my view this small tail reappears as the insignificant detached arc curving round the right-hand lower corner of our form, always very close to it though not adhering. Surely this interpretation is to be preferred to Kuo Mo-jo's equation with 乙 *i*. I am confident that no such variant of 乙, *of such a simple curvature and of such a dis*proportion to the main element of the complex, can be anywhere found. But if this little curve really represents a tail, the main component must be the body to which it was attached, and consequently the body of a tortoise, for there can be no question, the context being what it is, of any other animal

One final, and to me convincing, link in my equation is afforded by a variant of 龜 *kuei*, namely 亀, described by Eitel in his dictionary of the Canton dialect, as "vulgarly also written" It may be vulgar, but like other vulgarities it must own an ancient lineage as well as a current vogue, for it is used by that ultra modern scholar Kuo Mo-jo himself. In aspect it is a not much altered version of our ambiguous form, and it further undoubtedly represents *kuei*, the tortoise. And so we can return to our second formula, which I now render in modern Chinese 王 龜 曰 吉 *Wang kuei yüeh chi*, and in English literally, "The Royal Tortoise says Favourable," or, idiomatically, "The Royal Tortoise predicts Good Fortune." Such is the ancestral message before us, not one of those "ancestral voices prophesying war" that Coleridge dreamt of, but breathing a happier future and foretelling coming events that would be favourable and fair.

393.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON REMAINS OF ROME'S MESOPOTAMIAN *LIMES* SURVEYED IN IRĀQ TERRITORY

When reviewing the results of the remarkable researches carried *out by* Père A. Poidebard, S.J , on the Roman *Limes* defending the province of Syria, as recorded in his masterly work " La Trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie " (see *Geographical Journal,* January, 1936), I had pointed out how desirable it was to extend this archæological survey of Rome's easternmost frontier defences to those territories which are or until recent years have been under a British mandate. My attention had been attracted to this congenial task partly by the explorations I had been able to carry out on my second and third Central Asian journeys on the protected route line of Han times, a true *Limes,* which served China's earliest expansion into Turkestan through the desert, and partly by what a rapid tour in 1929 had shown me of the Syrian portion of the Jazīrah and the desert south of the Euphrates.

P. Poidebard's protracted and very fruitful labours, carried out mainly with the help of the French Air Force in the Levant, had strikingly demonstrated the paramount importance of aerial observation for tracing such remains of ancient protected routes on desert ground Thanks largely to the support of the British Academy, the Society of Antiquaries, and the Royal Geographical Society, it became possible to secure favourable consideration at the Air Ministry for the proposed survey as far as it involved help of the Royal Air Force

Several practical reasons induced me to select for the initial portion of the task that *Limes* section which was to be *looked for within Irāq territory between the Tigris and the* Euphrates. The requisite permission for this survey was readily granted by the Irāq Government, on the recommendation of Mr. C. J. Edmonds, Adviser in the Ministry of the Interior, an Orientalist scholar of distinction. Arrangements

for survey work on the ground were greatly facilitated by the Irāq Petroleum Company which is interested in that area, generously according the loan of the services of Surveyor Iltifat Husain, late of the Survey of India, and of the requisite motor transport.

Regard for climatic conditions had indicated the months following the winter rains as specially suitable for the work in view. After a preliminary stay above Beirut had enabled me to profit much by Père Poidebard's experienced advice, and at the same time to acquire a modicum of practice in colloquial Arabic, I reached Baghdad at the close of February. On a visit paid to the Royal Air Force Headquarters at Dhibban, Air Vice-Marshal C. L. Courtney, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., Air Officer Commanding British Forces in Irāq, kindly sanctioned the use for the proposed survey of a "Vincent" aeroplane suited to carry, besides pilot and photographer, myself as observer. In order to assure needful facilities of communication between the Irāqī Aerodrome at Mosul, where the machine had to be based, and my camp, mainly on desert ground, a wireless telegraph installation was attached to my party.

It was solely due to the ever effective help thus afforded by the Royal Air Force that it became possible within less than two and a half months, in spite of adverse atmospheric conditions prevailing at times, to search by a long succession of flights an area extending approximately over 120 miles from north-west to south-east and 90 miles across with adequate care. I have reason to feel particularly grateful for the aid of Pilot Officer H. M. Hunt, R.A.F., who by his keen interest in the task soon proved a very helpful collaborator. The large series of aerial photographs secured were of great help in the field, and constitute a very valuable record. For all these advantages I owe a heavy debt of gratitude to the Royal Air Force.

The close examination on the ground of the widely scattered remains of Roman military stations, watch posts, and roads, and their exact location on the map provided an interesting

but also exacting task. Most of these remains were found on what is now trackless desert. Characteristic regular features made them readily recognizable from the air. But on the ground the abundant if short-lived growth of desert vegetation, following a season of unusual rainfall, was often apt to screen them until approached quite close. The prolonged motor drives needed for this search were impeded by the broken nature of the ground, much cut up by *wādīs*. Scantiness of water and the brackishness of such as could be found in wells or drainage beds made it difficult to find suitable camping places.

As regards the results of our survey the briefest indications must suffice here. A safe starting point was provided by the site of ancient *Singara*, the present Balad Sinjar, indicated by classical records as a main Roman base on this *Limes*. Close examination proved the ruined walls and bastions of the small town to be Roman in plan and foundations. A main protected line of the *Limes* was traced passing along the southern foot of the rugged Sinjar hill range and resting its flank on a marked westerly bend of the Tigris at "Old Mosul". In the desert plain to the south a string of advanced *castella* was traced forming an "Exterior *Limes*". It linked up in the west with the Roman defensive line along the Khabur river.

It was from the south-east, in the direction of the great Parthian stronghold of Hatra, still imposing in its ruins, that the danger of invasion chiefly threatened Roman territory. Hence special interest attached to the discovery of a series of *castella* pushed out into the desert towards Hatra. They were meant to guard gaps in the low hills flanking cultivated strips along the right bank of the Tigris. The wide open belt of fertile land to the north-west of Mosul had in Roman times, just as now, formed a natural corridor between the upper Mesopotamian plain and Northern Syria. Along it lay a main line of advance both for Parthian or Sāsānian invasions and for Roman offensives. It was significant to find that

this important line of communication leading from the vicinity of Mosul to Nisibin, the ancient Roman stronghold of Nisibis, and now followed by a railway under construction, was guarded by a succession of Roman fortified stations. Here, too, our survey linked up closely with the system of *Limes* roads which Père Poidebard had determined on the other side of the present Syro-Irāq frontier.

The increasing heat of May made me feel glad when my task on this ground was concluded. Its continuation by the Euphrates is an aim which I eagerly hope to see realized in the Autumn, if Fate is kind.

399 AUREL STEIN.

THE EARLIEST JAIN SCULPTURES IN KĀTHIĀWĀR

(PLATES III-IV)

While exploring Kāthiāwār for its antiquarian remains Burgess visited Dhank.[1] There, in a ravine, west of the hill near the modern town, he found a few sculptures cut out in low relief in cells and also on the face of the calcareous rock. He described these in his *Report*,[2] but published no photographs or drawings. Not satisfied with his description I decided to visit the place while on a similar tour as his.[3] On examining the sculptures I found that they were not Buddhist, as Burgess thought them to be,[4] but Jain. Moreover, they seem to be the earliest specimens of this or of any other school of sculpture found in Kāthiāwār.

The discussion may begin with the sculptures in cells

[1] A small sub-state, under a *darbār*, 30 miles W.N.W. from Junāgarh, in Gondal State. Formerly the place was known as Tilatila Paṭṭan. Traces of its ancient greatness besides the caves (to be described presently) are none as such. But even now, whenever the place is dug up for laying the foundation of a building, etc, images of the Jain and Hindu pantheons and remains of old houses are found

[2] "Antiquities of Kachh and Kathiawad," *ASWI*, vol. ii, p. 150

[3] Here I take the opportunity to thank Mr. Sambhuprasad Desai who kindly accompanied me all the way from Junāgarh; also Mr. Gordhandas Malaviya and the late Darbar of Dhank for their hospitality.

[4] Burgess, op. cit., p. 150.

carved at the lower end of the hill. Here the first cave [1] has a small opening, about 4 feet high. Inside the cell, 7 ft. 9 in. by 8 ft. 4 in., there are three niches, one facing the opening and one on either side of it. Each side-niche has a nude (?) [2] figure seated in *padmāsana* (cross-legged) posture, its body erect and motionless. The right hand is placed over the left in the lap, with palm upwards. Over the head is a triple umbrella, shown by three strokes; on each side is a *cāmara*-bearer, and small *vidyādharas* are above. The figure in the central niche is similarly seated on a *simhāsana*, with a *cāmara*-bearer on each side. Burgess identified these sculptures as figures of Buddha. But they seem to be of Jain Tīrthankaras, because, firstly, they are nude; secondly, their *mudrā*, the gesture of the hands, is typical of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara; lastly they are identical with the figures on the adjoining hill, which, as will be shown below, are undoubtedly those of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. These figures, therefore, probably represent Ādinātha (Ṛṣabhadeva), as there are two lions; the central symbol—the bull—is perhaps missing.[3] Unfortunately, the heads of the figures are so weathered as to give no indication about the manner of wearing the hair, which would have made the comparison with Mathurā sculptures easier and would have been a fair index of the age of the figures.[4]

Higher up the ravine, there are a number of sculptures in very low relief on the face of the rock.[5] Beginning from the lower end again, first there is a " woman [6] with a child on her

[1] The photograph is not clear enough for reproduction.

[2] It is difficult to be definite on this point. Some fifty years ago Burgess saw traces of drapery, etc., while at present there are none On the analogy of the wall-figures on the adjoining hill I am inclined to think that the figures were originally nude.

[3] Two lions on either side of a bull are found on an early image (*circa* A D. 150) of Ādināthā from the Jain *stūpa* at Mathurā See Vincent Smith, " The Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura," *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. xx, pl. xcviii. If there were only one lion, the figure should have been identified with that of Mahāvīra.

[4] In early Jain figures, the hair is worn in rolls or curls, but later it develops into a conventional style known as *uṣṇīṣa*.

[5] See Pls. III and IV. [6] See Pl. III.

left knee, her right elbow resting on her right knee, and her hand pointing up. She has heavy ear-rings, and apparently a frontal ornament in the parting of her hair, which is wavy and clustering". Burgess left her unidentified. She is evidently the goddess Ambā or Ambikā, the Great Mother, who is usually sculptured with a child in Jain iconography. Figures of her have been found in the Jain *stūpa* at Mathurā,[1] and are an invariable feature of medieval Jain sculpture and painting.[2]

Adjoining Ambikā is a nude figure,[3] 27 inches high. It stands in *kāyotsarga* (meditation) pose on a triple-cut, pillow-like stool. The body is held erect and the arms hang down on either side. From behind the stool rises a serpent in five coils and makes a canopy of seven hoods over the head of the standing figure. The figure should be identified with that of the 23rd Jain Tīrthankara, Pārśvanātha. Though it is common in Jain sculpture, the manner of representing the coils of the serpent is unique.[4]

To the right of Pārśvanātha is a small sitting figure about 8 inches high.[5] Close to this is a nude figure[6] in *padmāsana* posture; its right hand is laid over the left in the lap with the palm upwards. The *simhāsana* has a wheel and deer in the

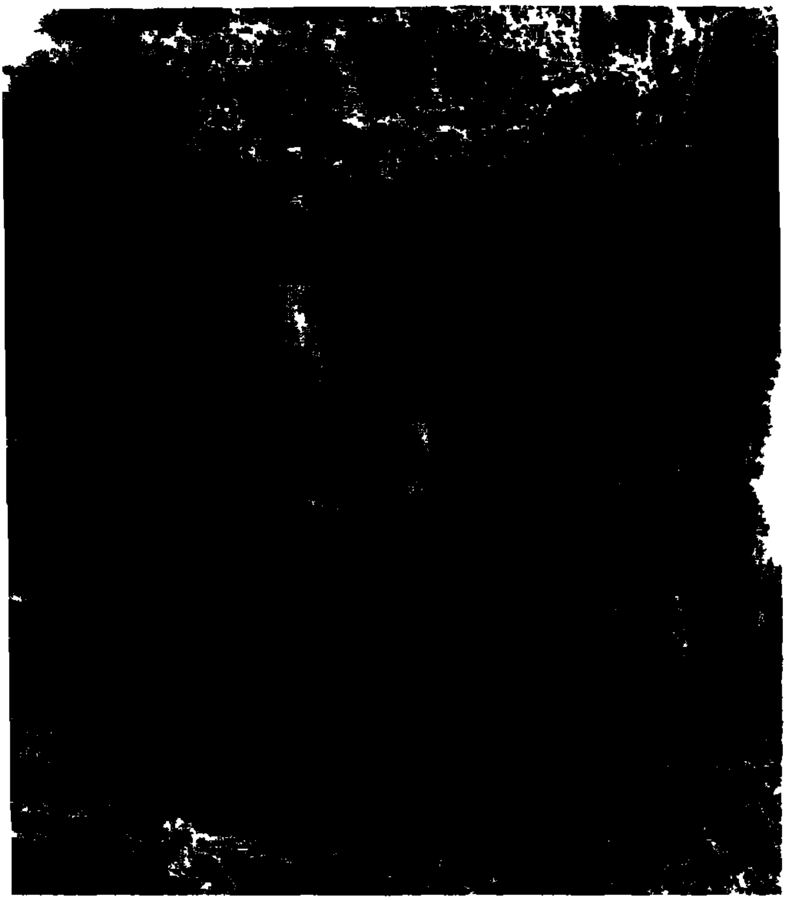
[1] Smith, op cit, pl xcviii. Note that the sitting posture of the goddess as well as of the child and the lion are identical.

[2] A similar figure is found at Elura, *ASWI.*, vol v, pl. xl, fig. 2, and at Ankai caves. Ibid, p. 58. For paintings see Nawab, *Jain Citrakalpadruma*, fig. 45.

[3] See fig Pl. III.

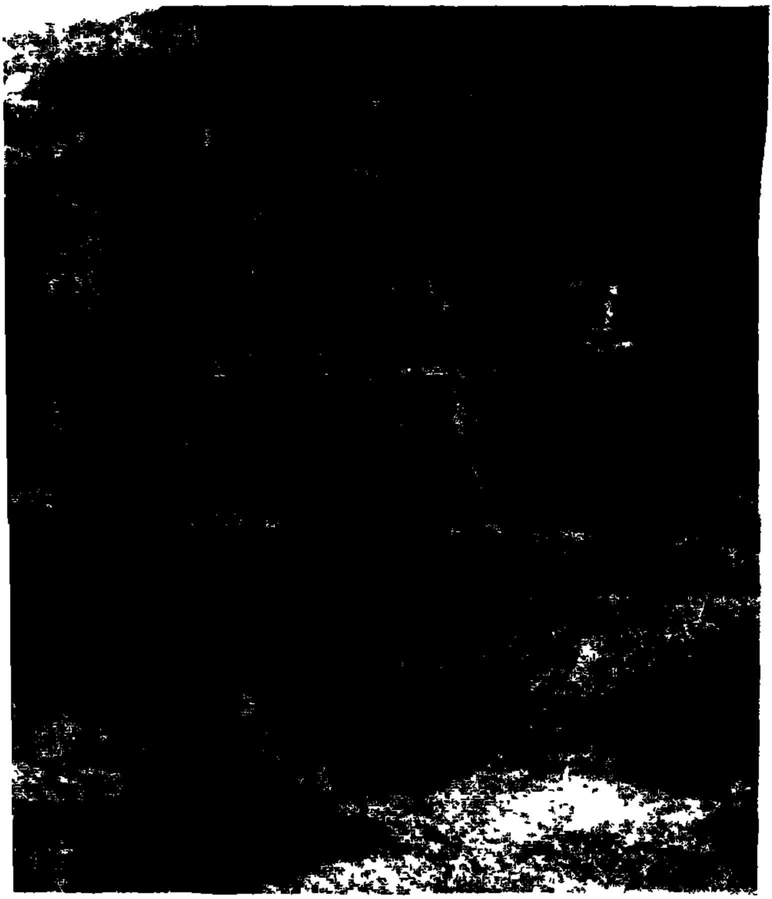
[4] At Bharhut, the folds are similar but are two only (Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. xxviii). At Amarāvatī (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. lxxvi) they are different At Bādāmi (*ASWI.*, "1874 Report, Belgam and Kaladgi," pl xxxvi, fig 3) the similarity is close, but the representation of the serpent is different. At Elura (Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, pl. lxxxvi) Pārśvanātha stands on a two-decked ornamental stool, but the serpent is very dissimilar from that at Dhank It is interesting to note in this connection that a *serpent with* similar folds but without the hood is noticed on Roman coins of Tralles (Fergusson, op cit, p 19, No. 2), and on an image from Gwalior in the Indian Museum, South Kensington, London. Also, cf. Takshaka, from Takshakeśvara, Indore State, where the folds are similar. *ASIWC.*, 1920, pl xiii; also p. 80

[5] See Pl. III. [6] See Pl IV.



[To face p. 423.

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centre and a lion at each end. Over the head is a triple umbrella shown by three strokes. On either side is an attendant standing with a *cāmara* in his hand. I fail to notice "folds of the drapery of the seat hanging down" and "tuft of hair" on the head, as described by Burgess. Again, his identification of the figure as Buddha is to be discarded, though the symbols —wheel and deer—suggest it.[1] The deer is a *lāñchana* (symbol) of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha. An identical figure is found in the late medieval Ankai caves.[2] The Dhank sculpture, therefore, seems to be no other than the 16th Tīrthaṅkara of the Śvetāṁbara Jains, or Ara (whose *lāñchana* is also a deer) the 18th Tīrthankara of the Digaṁbara Jains.

Adjoining this is a nude figure[3] standing in *kāyotsarga* pose. On either side is an attendant. It has long ears and ringlets of hair over each shoulder. It is a Jain Tīrthaṅkara; but it is difficult to say which in the absence of any *lāñchana*. The two following are again Jain Tīrthaṅkaras.[4] And the last two[5] are similar, but noteworthy for the "disproportionately big heads" of the *cāmara*-bearers and the three lions on the *siṁhāsana*, and the wheel that is carved below the central lion. Three lions make the identification difficult and uncertain. One lion on either side and a bull in the centre is the symbol of Ādinātha; and a lion in the centre, of Mahāvīra. Probably the figure is of the latter.[6]

Are the attendants of these figures ordinary *cāmara*-bearers, or *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs*, who are associated with Tīrthaṅkaras both in the Śvetāṁbara and Digaṁbara Jain iconography? Indications for the second alternative are

[1] *And even the wheel was worshipped by the Jains as is attested by* numerous Jain sculptures from Mathurā. See Vogel, *Catalogue, Mathura*, p. 70.

[2] Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 507.

[3] See Pl. IV.

[4] See Pl. IV.

[5] These have not come out in the photograph.

[6] Though Burgess finds great likeness in these figures with those of the Jinas at Bādāmi, Aihoḷe, and Ajanta, he calls them Buddhas! *AKK.*, p. 151.

extremely few—only the high tapering head-dresses.[1] Excepting these, we miss the various attributes and weapons that are said to be found with *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs*.[2] Moreover, there do not seem to be any *yakṣiṇīs* among the Dhank figures. It is possible, nevertheless, that the attendant figures do represent *yakṣas*, but they lack the decorative details. These must have been introduced into the Jain iconography at a much later period, as in the case of Hindu and Buddhist iconography; whereas the figures, both of Tīrthaṅkaras and attendants, belong to an earlier period. The same reason also accounts for the absence of *yakṣiṇīs*.

The rock sculptures at Dhank, therefore, are not Buddhist but Jain But the fact that they seem to be the work of monks who were Digambaras, as many of the figures are without doubt *nirvastra*, is surprising. For Digambara Jainism is never found to be strong in either Gujarāt or Kāthiāwār. It is not so at present, nor was it so under the Chaulukyas (*circa* A.D. 1000–1250). It is probable that Digambara Jainism was flourishing in these parts at a much earlier period—probably under the Kṣatrapas (*circa* A.D. 100–300), as the existence of Jain monks and nuns (the latter, of course, belonged to the Śvetāmbara school) is evidenced by inscriptions.[3]

Stylistically also the sculptures belong to the early fourth century, between the Kuśānas (or Kṣatrapas) and the Guptas. The posture of the Jain Tīrthankaras (seated or standing) does not tell us much, being conventional. It compares, however, favourably with the Mathurā images.

Dhank sculptures, hitherto barely noticed, open up a new chapter in the history of Kāthiāwār sculpture.

[1] Cf. Burgess, *Digambara Jain Iconography*, p. 5. " All the Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs have similar high tapering head-dresses "

[2] Ibid , pp. 3–4.

[3] " Andhau Inscriptions of the time of Rudradāman, No. c," *Ep. Ind.*, vol xvi, p. 25, and " Stone Inscription of the grandson of Jayadāman, found from Bāwa Pyāra Caves, Junāgarh," ibid , p 239.

H. D. Sankalia.

A FEW CORRECTIONS IN THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION OF THE CHRONOGRAPHY OF GREGORY ABÛ'L FARAJ (BAR HEBRAEUS)

Mr. H. Kurdian sends the following corrections of the late E. W. Budge's *Chronography of Barhebraeus* :—

i, 237 : "One Khôj (i e. lord) Basil, that is to say thief, who held Khishum and Ra'ban." The word *Khōj* is not, as Budge thought, the Persian *khwāja*, but the Armenian գող *kogh*, "thief."

i, 371 : "Toros (Theodorus ?), the Armenian, the governor of Cilicia." The suggestion in parentheses is unnecessary, since the person referred to is Toros I, prince of Cilicia, A.D. 1099–1129.

i, 371 : "Adhôrbîjân and 'Arrân (Arzân ?)." Arran is a district in Caucasian or Eastern Greater Armenia, whence the suggestion in parentheses is erroneous.

i, 375 · "The year six hundred and sixty-eight of the Armenians." This synchronizes with A D. 1219. This is the only occasion on which B.H. uses the Armenian era in this work.

i, 505 · "righteous king Hitam (II ?) of Cilicia." The name should be spelt Haitum, and the reference is to the second king of Cilicia of that name (A.D. 1289–1297). The query is therefore unnecessary.

i, 375 : "Whose name was Zabil (Isabel ?)." The name should be read Zabel; the form Isabel is not used in Armenian.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

TELL EDFOU. By MAURICE ALLIOT. (Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Rapports préliminaires. Tome dixième, deuxième partie.) 13 × 10, pp. 40, pls. xxiii. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut, 1935.

The preliminary report for the year 1933 of the excavations of the I.F.A.O. at Tell Edfou, directed by M. M. Alliot, announces the discovery of a mastaba of the Old-New Kingdom cemetery of Edfou dated to the reign of Pepi I, the owner of which entered upon his official career in the reign of Isesi of the Fifth Dynasty. A series of stelæ from this tomb, in the chambers of which they had been set up or deposited, shows that the cemetery was in use until the thirteenth dynasty.

The stelæ have been photographed and the texts from them and from the mastaba of Isi are published here. Two texts, however, Nos. 21 and 22, appear to come from stelæ which have not been photographed and are unaccounted for in the description. The inclusion of a scale in the photographs and of an index of references to the text in the list of plates would have been welcome. The titles of Pl. XV, 4, and XVIII, 1, have been inadvertently allowed to change places.

A. 666. M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

DICTIONNAIRE ARABE-FRANÇAIS. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem. By A. BARTHÉLEMY. Haut-Commissariat de France en Syrie et au Liban: Instruction Publique. 12¼ × 10, pp. xii + 224. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935. Frs. 45.

At last we have a dictionary of Syrian Arabic worthy the name, and it has wide margins for notes. The words are arranged under roots; the roots are in Arabic type in a

column by themselves (the choice of the root form in foreign words is arbitrary); the *words are in a phonetic script; and the meanings are set out clearly with lots of idioms. The form in classical Arabic is given, and for foreign words the derivation whenever possible. Cookery recipes and bits of folklore are* included. There is no preface to explain the principles which guided the work, so that one can only record the fact that in some places the note *mot savant* is surprising. There are many things to be noted for the history of language. Some sounds have become more emphatic, e.g.: آذار > آضار, جدار > جضار, حرس > جرص, تراب > طراب, حرؤ > جرع. Others have become weaker, e.g.: طريق > تريق, اهد > عهد One sound has developed differently in two forms of the same word, e.g. جثّة has become in the singular جتّه but in the plural حساس. The change of غ to خ (غسل > خسل) has parallels in classical Arabic The new meanings given under اهل and جحش are interesting developments. Quadrilateral roots are common.

A few criticisms can be made. On pp. 218–19 the roots have been left out. There is no reason for giving ابب and اخخ as the roots of *ab* and *akh* respectively. It would have been better to put all the words from the roots اش, ايش, and اشى together, with cross-references if necessary. Probably the meaning of نخع has been softened down, and the word has nothing to do with نكع. Surely the common form is *bĭdak* and not *b'ĭdak*. By this time بربر might be naturalized in Arabic, for it is at home in the classical language and presumably came into the colloquial from it. There are omissions; *yōkul*. the imperfect of اكل, is used in Jerusalem, جلس "to sit straight" as opposed to lolling, and اسر even

in its modern form اصر. That some of the words seem to *be borrowed from Syriac starts interesting speculation. Though one can find weaknesses, this dictionary is far and away better than anything existing, and it is to be hoped that* it will soon be all published.

A. 687 A. S. TRITTON.

FAKHR AD-DĪN II E LA CORTE DI TOSCANA. Vol I. By PAOLO CARALI. Reale Accademia d'Italia, Studie Documenti, 5. 10 × 7, pp. 489, pl. i. Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1936. L. 50.

A search among Italian archives has brought to light many documents relating to Fakhr ad-Dīn, the Druse emir of Lebanon. The editor has published in this volume a selection of them and has written a series of essays on the life and policy of Fakhr ad-Dīn as an introduction. He calls this the first volume; the second is to be an Arabic translation of it. The only startling novelty is the fact that Fakhr ad-Dīn was baptized before his death, but the wealth of details accumulated make a living figure of the hero. Contemporaries give opposing accounts of his character; the editor explains away the contradiction by showing that the unfavourable reports refer to the time when he was in exile in Italy, living on the charity of others, who hoped to use him as a tool to serve their own plans. When he had to rely on his wits alone he might appear a vacillating braggart; a prince in his own land, he converted most of his talk into realities. Many of the documents show the care which the prince took of agriculture; there are requests for irrigation engineers, for Italian peasants who will show the people of Lebanon improved methods of tilling the soil, and for cattle to improve the local breed. Fakhr ad-Dīn's pride in his own estates is seen in the presents to Tuscany of silk from his own garden. His dream of an independent Syria, backed up against Turkey by a Christian kingdom of Palestine and Cyprus, came too soon and collapsed before the

might of Turkey and the quarrels of Christendom. The man who dreamed that dream was a great man; though he himself perished, yet he left much of his principality to his heirs. A curious incident is his deposit of money in a Florentine bank, money which his successors tried to recover a century later, apparently in vain, for there is no record of what happened in the end. The editor thinks that the money, which must now amount to millions, is still in Italy and is a testimony to the gratitude of Fakhr ad-Dīn to the hospitable and civilizing Italy The book is dedicated to Signor Mussolini. There are a number of small misprints, the one English text comes off worst. Otherwise the book is all that a book ought to be, and is, further, a valuable and delightful addition to the history of the time.

A. 784. A. S. Tritton.

The Growth of Literature. By H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick. Vol. II. 8vo, 6½ × 9½, pp. xvii + 783 Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1936 Price 30*s*.

Continuing their search for those "general principles" which "operate in the growth of literature", the authors here examine the oral literatures of Russia and Yugoslavia, and the written of early India and the Hebrews. The latter section of the work alone comes within the province of the Society's studies.

In their analysis of Hebrew literature the authors' lack of expert knowledge vitiates most of their conclusions. They prefer to construct a history of Hebrew letters from a subjective study of the English Bible and from largely obsolete views of the Higher Criticism, instead of starting from the safer ground of archaeological research. Thus, on the basis of Higher Criticism, they state categorically that the earliest Hebrew literature was prose, and not verse. This, however, is vitiated by the recent discovery of the Ras Shamra texts and by the fact that the cultural ancestors of the Hebrews,

viz. the Mesopotamians and earliest Arabs, possess scarcely any literature (in the fullest sense of the word) which is not verse.

Again, the authors tend to isolate the literature of the Old Testament from its cultural environment, and fail to understand that the evolution of the Hebrew literary genius cannot adequately be traced except in relation to the evolution of Hebrew civilization generally, and for this purpose it is necessary to consider it in the cultural context of the Ancient East. Thus, whilst they appreciate the religious *note* in that literature, they fail to appreciate the fact that ancient Semitic literature was of sacral origin, being animated in the first place by the necessity of conserving a standard set of words in ritual. Similarly they do not realize the essentially ritualistic basis of much Semitic myth, or the fact that the seasonal pantomimes enacted in ritual created a body of letters in the form of *libretti*. The Ras Shamra texts are of this class.

Then in discussing the evolution of saga into literature, they do not consider the subject in relation to the actual growth of Israel itself. A modern critic, in examining the stories of the Old Testament, has, above all, to consider the process whereby duplicate sagas, preserved by distinct tribes and caravans, had necessarily to be welded into a single sequence when those tribes and caravans fused together and desired to put their history on record. This, for instance, accounts for the manifest duplications in the stories of Abraham and Isaac, and we have recently been given a glimpse of how an original story, concerning the invasion of the Terachids into Palestine, was transformed by Israelite writers in order to integrate it into the body of their people's distinctive history.

Further, the authors tend to confuse the date of a document with the date of a literary form. Because, for instance, a given psalm, or even body of psalms, may be later than a given piece of prose, or collection of prose writings, this does not imply that *all* psalms are later than *all* prose, or that psalm-writing is *per se* of late date. Many psalms may, indeed, be

Israelitic transformations of very ancient Canaanite hymns, and the analogies from Mesopotamia, together with Jirku's recent discovery of psalm-quotations in the Amarna Letters, should compel caution. The Old Testament does not exhaust Hebrew literature. It is a fortuitous collection, and, because the verse it contains may be later than the prose, this is no more reason for deducing the relative antiquity of each form than for concluding that prose must *ipso facto* be earlier than verse because the works of Hallam may be bound up with those of Browning

It must also be remembered that the Israelites were only one part of the Hebrews, and hence that their literary forms must be discussed in relation to other monuments of Hebrew literature and that of its prototypes.

Novel is the authors' view that the David-stories must have been written by or for women because of their large dose of feminine interest (Elisheba, Michal, Abishag, etc.). This recalls Samuel Butler's famous argument about the Odyssey, and is open to the same objections. "All the world loves a lover", and the intrigues of kings have popular interest not confined to women. What is more, the importance of pedigree and genealogy naturally leads a writer to mention every king's mistress he knows of.

There is an excellent chapter on historical and unhistorical elements in Hebrew saga, and this largely atones for errors elsewhere. One notices, however, that the authors rely for their archæological data on Marston's *The Bible is True*, which is a tendencious volume not free of inaccuracies.

I am incompetent to consider the Indian section of this work, the plan of which follows that pursued in the section reviewed It is to be hoped that some student in this department will let us have an opinion.

The work is impressive and painstaking, but in so far as Hebrew literature is concerned, it lacks sound basis.

A 729. THEODOR H. GASTER.

Far East

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF MONGOL LAW. By V. A. RIASANOVSKY. 9 × 6½, pp. 338. Tientsin: Telberg's International Bookstores, 1937.

The author of this valuable work needs no introduction to Orientalists, for his previously published works on Chinese Civil Law and the Customary Law of various Mongol tribes are familiar works of reference. The social anthropologist in particular will be grateful for the indications so clearly given of the development of tribal juridical consciousness and the careful balance established and maintained between obligations and privileges.

To provide a setting for the detailed exposition which follows, the author has written a valuable historical introduction showing Mongolia as a territory in twentieth century times and its relation to its past. Chapter I then discusses the actual records of Mongol Law in a descriptive rather than a literal sense. General and local law and the impact of Chinese legislation thereon and the effects of this influence and the laws of the nomads of the Steppes are all discussed, and much vital information concerning the various tribes, northern (Khalkha), western (Djungaria), the Buriats and the Kalmucks is adduced in the course of a close examination of the differing legal systems. Chapter II goes somewhat deeper into the records themselves and detailed accounts are given of the Great Yassa of Jenghiz Khan, the ancient Tsādjin Bichik, the Mongol-Oirat Regulations of 1640, and the authoritative Khalkha-Djirom, as well as accounts of supplementary laws and codes up to the present enactments of autonomous Mongolia.

We are then invited to examine the sources of Mongol Law, and the author does not unduly labour the interaction of Mongol Customary Law and Chinese Law. Indeed, it is difficult to see how in the present state of our knowledge this could satisfactorily be investigated and pronounced on by

one so scholarly as Professor Riasanovsky, for the student will pause in his reading here and there to ask himself whether many seeming "central" points of Mongol Customary Law are not in fact decayed Chinese legal principles thinly disguised with a Mongol custom lacquer. A particularly valuable section is that on the Canonical Law of the Lamaists.

An examination of the Fundamental Institutions of Mongol Law is followed by an illuminating series of parallels and notes on comparative jurisprudence. The learned author's fifteen years of research into Mongol Law and Tribal Institutions have led him, through caution, to a shrewd judgment and a satisfying assessment of comparative legal standards and values. There is particular value, therefore, in the sections treating comparatively Mongol Law and Russian Law: Mongol Law and Chinese Law the law systems of other conquered settled peoples and the law of the nomadic tribes of Asia. An appendix provides excerpts (in translation only) from the text of the Khalkha Djirom so frequently drawn upon in the earlier pages, and the work is rounded off by a valuable bibliography of eleven pages.

It is, perhaps, ungrateful to express the wish that the author had found time to add to his arduous labours the task of preparing a detailed index to this excellent work. But in fairness to the student whose memory is not so good as it might be one must say that so much of value is *hidden* here that it would be well for him, while reading, to prepare his own index and thus save much time in re-reading whole pages to verify one cross-reference. The reader will find some of the material here presented familiar. Professor Riasanovsky has wisely drawn upon his own previous researches and publications in order to present a balanced thesis.

A. 853 NEVILLE WHYMANT.

Petit Précis de Grammaire Chinoise Écrite. By Georges Margoulies. 7½ × 5¼, pp. 64. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1934. Frs. 10.

The author of this pamphlet does not claim to have written a complete grammar, but only a guide to foreigners in understanding the structure of a Chinese text, and in helping them to analyse phrases with the object of making grammatical translations of Chinese. He has obviously taken a great deal of trouble to achieve this difficult simplification, but I cannot find that his results are satisfactory. Even in such a small pamphlet, he has tackled serious and important topics in the Chinese language; these are of necessity so briefly and roughly explained that I doubt the helpfulness to students: the treatment may puzzle rather than elucidate. To my way of thinking, should the book be intended for beginners, these more complicated linguistic problems ought not to have been posed at all; should it be intended for more advanced students, they should have been dealt with far more comprehensively.

The Chinese *particle* is a linguistic element peculiar to Chinese. It has a great variety of forms and varies in meaning with its position in the sentence, as well as with its context. The writer has included sixty-nine in his small book, but the reader should certainly realize there are many others in wide current use. He claimed to have found the nearest French equivalent to these particles, but his findings hardly cover the variety of meanings commonly employed. For instance, he says of the first particle 夫, "caractère à des emplois variés," but does not give a nearly clear enough definition of these uses, and it would be very hard for an average student to understand the implication of the character 夫 in the following sentences, either as to meaning or grammatical construction:—

夫天地者,萬物之逆旅. (李白春夜宴桃李園序)
仁夫,公子重耳 (檀弓)
來,吾導夫先路 (離騷)
加夫橈與劍焉 (禮記少儀)
甚矣夫,人之難說也,道之難明邪! (莊子天運)

The author is wise not to involve himself and his readers in the complicated uses of the particles, but it is no way of helping students to meet their difficulties in construing and constructing Chinese.

The explanation of Parallelism and Rhythm in the Chinese language is also rather obscure, mainly for the reason that it is over-simplified. The structure of a Chinese sentence is largely a matter of musical ear and of instinct derived from wide reading. There are few sentences so symmetrically put together as Dr. Margoulies makes out, nor is it true that the particles form no great part in parallelism.

I should not advise a student of Chinese who is just beginning his work on grammar to use this little pamphlet, since it attempts problems above his head.

A 464. CHIANG YEE.

GREAT BRITAIN AND CHINA, 1833–1860. By W. C COSTIN, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. 9 × 6, pp. 362 + vi, with a bibliography, index, and 3 maps. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937. 15s.

A very useful work, clearly and concisely written, and eminently easy to read.

Of the eight chapters, apart from introduction and epilogue, into which it is divided the first covers the period from 1834 to 1839, in which year the consistently intransigent attitude of the Chinese authorities over questions of trade, residence, and jurisdiction led to the outbreak of hostilities with Great Britain The second describes the fighting which followed and carries the narrative to the point at which the Chinese unwillingly signed the Treaty of Nanking. Despite, however, the reverse their arms had just suffered, contempt for the "red-haired" barbarians remained completely unchanged; nothing was further from their intention than the implementing

of the terms of the treaty to which they had become a party; and in the third and fourth chapters of the book will be found an account of the "period of strain" which was the inevitable consequence. The culminating point was the affair of the lorcha "Arrow" in 1856 (v. Cap. V); when once again Great Britain, but on this occasion in company with France, found herself involved in armed strife with China. Canton was occupied by the allied forces, and a move was made to the north, where the Taku forts were also taken. Fresh treaties were then negotiated; but the Chinese were bitterly opposed, *inter alia*, to the clause in them providing for the residence in Peking of the representatives of the various Powers; and when in 1859 Mr. Bruce, the first British Minister to China, arrived at Tientsin on his way to Peking to exchange ratifications, he found the river Peiho barred against him. An attempt to force a passage ended in failure, and the British and French envoys thereupon retired "defeated and frustrated" to Shanghai. An account of these events will be found in Chapters VI and VII (Lord Elgin's First Mission and Mr. Bruce's Mission). On the receipt of the news of this reverse the British and French Governments promptly determined on decisive measures. Chapter VIII describes what thereupon happened—the dispatch of Lord Elgin for a second time, the preparation of an adequate allied force, the capture of the forts at Taku, the occupation of Peking, and the burning of the Imperial Summer Palace. Then at last the Chinese capitulated; a Peace Convention was signed in the capital, and the treaty of 1858 was finally ratified. The history of later years was, however, to demonstrate that the old spirit of hatred of the foreigner was not dead and that China had still much to learn.

Mr. Costin's work covers the same period of time as the first volume of Mr. H. B. Morse's *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, and the two can with advantage be read side by side. Differences of view will be found; but they are not many, and both narratives make it amply clear that the

real *fons et origo mali* during those early years of intercourse was not, as even now tendencious propagandists occasionally assert, the opium question—regarding this the attention of the reader is drawn to the brief fragment of a draft dispatch of Lord Palmerston's on page 60—but the obstinate refusal of the Chinese, arrogant in the possession of a civilization of almost immemorial antiquity, to treat Western nations on a basis of equality.

The latter part of the introductory chapter of Mr. Costin's work contains an admirable but all too brief little essay describing the structure of Chinese Society and Government at the time when the British trader first appeared on the scene. Of great interest too is his account of the relations existing between the British community at Canton and their Superintendent of Trade. It shows that the Chinese authorities were by no means the only thorn in the side of that much harassed official.

This work comes from the Clarendon Press; in other words, it is excellently printed and edited.

A. 872. H. PARLETT.

India

A DICTIONARY OF THE CLASSICAL NEWĀRĪ. By HANS JØRGENSEN. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, XXIII, i. 9½ × 6, pp. 178. København. Levin and Munksgaard, 1936. Kr. 9.50.

This work—a Newārī-English Dictionary—registers a distinct advance in our knowledge of the vocabulary of Newārī. As the author states, it is "a considerable enlargement and improvement" upon his "Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Nevārī Sprache", which appeared in *Acta Orientalia*, VI (1927).

As "Classical Newārī" the language dealt with is that of the manuscripts. Traces of the more modern speech found therein have been taken into consideration only to a very limited extent, the main characteristics having to do with changes in, and disappearance of, final consonants.

The material itself is drawn from some seventeen manuscripts in the British Museum and Cambridge University Libraries. Eleven of these are dated and range from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, A.D. The author has also used his edition of the *Vicitrakarnikāvadānoddhṛta*, published by this Society in 1931, and the relevant Hodgson papers in the India Office.

Loan words, wherever possible, are explained, but no reference of true Newārī words to their relatives in cognate languages is given, as the author rightly holds that in the present state of Tibeto-Burman comparative studies the number of reliable equations would be small. He has, however, given this some attention in *Acta Orientalia*, XIV (1936), pp. 281–2.

The present dictionary offers abundant materials towards the solution of the problems presented by the final consonants of Newārī verbs, which are often obscured by the amalgamation of a suffix with the root. Such final consonants are added, wherever known, throughout, e.g. *jyāya* (*-t*), to work, and point directly to the relatives of such words in Tibetan and allied languages. In the present case T. *byed-pa* at once comes to mind as a relative of *jyā-t*. A different, and interesting, type of case is *puya* (*-l*), to blow (of the wind). Here *-l* appears in what is in Tibetan a *-d* ~ *-n* ~ *-o* family: *ạbud-pa*, to blow, *spun-pa* (blown by wind): chaff, husks, *ṗu*, a puff of breath (cf. Newārī *phu-phu dhāya* to pant, to gasp), and others, and we may be able eventually to gain some idea of the causes for the appearance of *-l* as a final in such families, at least in Newārī, as it is almost certainly not original. In still other instances we can assign Newārī words to definite final classes only by comparison with other languages. Representative

cases are *punĕ*, to be covered, and *puya*, to cover, where dentals are indicated by Kachin *p̍un*, to cover, *lă-p̍ut* (covered part) knee, Burmese *p̍uṅ°*, to cover, *puṅ°* (cover oneself) to hide, etc. In a few cases it is possible that comparative methods will eliminate as loan words some so regarded by the author, as, for instance, *kun*, a corner, an angle. This may be a real Newārī word related to Kachin *kun*, to be bent, *mă-kun*, to crouch down, *tin-kun*, to bend, to be pliable, rather than a loan from Hindī *kon*.

For the pursuit of all such problems as these, as well as for the more practical ends of the translator, the author has given us an invaluable piece of work. He is to be congratulated upon having produced a dictionary which will prove indispensable in any future study of the language.

A 696 STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

ARMENIANS IN INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY. By MESROVB JACOB SEṬH. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xv + 629. Calcutta: Published by the Author, 1937. Rs. 10 or 15*s*.

It is over forty years since the veteran author of this book published a History of the Armenians in India, and he has now expanded and enriched his previous work by incorporating in it the labour and enthusiasm of a lifetime. The thick volume now published is, indeed, less a history than a collection of materials for some more concise and critical historian of the future. It contains copious extracts from authorities, is written in a pleasing discursive style with many pardonable digressions, and bears throughout strong evidence of the author's untiring diligence in unearthing every kind of record bearing on his interesting subject. The migrations of his fellow countrymen to India from Armenia and Julfa and their varied experiences in their Indian surroundings contribute

a series of quiet romances which he has done well to record. He takes us from one city to another, beginning with the Agra of Akbar's era and ending with the Madras of to-day, and not the least attractive of the pictures he presents is that of his own Calcutta with its well-known families of Apcars, Stephens, Gregorys, Arathoons, Galstauns, and the rest. He gives us, one after another, sketches of the many prominent men in various walks of life who have emerged from the small but highly intelligent community to which he belongs, and one is only sorry that he feels obliged to end with a somewhat pessimistic outlook on the future of the community. As regards its past history, the author has done one admirable service in presenting translations of the numerous inscriptions on Armenian monuments in various cemeteries throughout India. There has always been some misgiving as to the accuracy of such translations as have hitherto been given, and it is well to have interpretations from such an authoritative source. If he is still able, as he proposes, to publish these hereafter in a separate "Armenian Obituary" he will do a good service to historical research.

There is no index to this large book, but the author disarms criticism on this score by pleading ill health, and his volume is after all of a type for which an index is not indispensable.

A. 902. E. D. MACLAGAN.

STUDIEN ZUR TEXTGESCHICHTE DES RĀMĀYAṆA. Von WALTER RUBEN. Bonner Orientalische Studien, Heft 19. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xvii + 263. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936.

The University of Bonn has a fine record in the past for critical work on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the revival of the tradition in the present volume is welcome. Dr. Ruben has selected six passages, four from the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* and one each from the *Bālakāṇḍa* and *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, examined the textual evidence, both in manuscripts and printed editions, and worked out a

text for them showing the variations and common matter. Before discussing his conclusions, I may be allowed a preliminary complaint that he has had insufficient regard for his readers in presenting the material; it requires much hard work to understand what he is doing, and as regards his texts I am still in the dark on many points. In these circumstances I have only been able to check his results by comparing his presentation of the North-Western recension for the first four passages with the text of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, recently published in somewhat uncritical fashion in Lahore; though resting on different MSS., the two agree in the main, and evidently the MS. material used by Dr. Ruben is adequate.

As for his general views, he divides each recension into two versions, those for the southern recension being based on Rāmānuja's commentary and the *Amṛtakatakaṭīkā*; this latter novelty does not appear absolutely necessary, but may be accepted. Incidentally his analysis of the various commentaries is perhaps the best part of the book. He further holds that these four versions all derive from a single archetype, a remodelling of the epic in roughly 12,000 verses which was carried out before the time of Kālidāsa, say, about A.D. 400; his evidence for this, for the reason given above, is not easy to follow, but I for one am satisfied on general grounds that he is on the right lines For, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the form known to Aśvaghoṣa differed materially in certain points from that which can be seen to have been the common basis of the existing versions; and the acceptance of a late date for an archetype, drawn up by a single hand, seems to meet all the difficulties. Behind this archetype he places an "Urtext", which was not necessarily the same as Vālmīki's original poem. On the composition and date of this Urtext he wisely refuses to commit himself, but believes he has discovered a portion of its opening in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the North-Western recension; again he may be right in this, as Jacobi's reconstruction of the first *sarga* omits many verses which were certainly known to Aśvaghoṣa.

Let me conclude by hoping that Dr. Ruben will continue his studies on the nature of the archetype and give us an extract of considerable length from it in a more perspicuous form, and that he will abandon the idea (p. 57) that a *kāvya* text is necessarily preserved in greater purity by the existence of commentaries; for *kāvya*, as distinct from other departments of Sanskrit literature, there is much to be said for the diametrically opposite view, since commentators often believed themselves capable of "improving" the poetry which they professed to be explaining.

A. 804. E. H. JOHNSTON.

ṚGVEDASAṀHITĀ WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SĀYAṆĀCHĀRYA. Edited by N. S. SONTAKKE and Others. Vols. I and II. $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp. 20 + 1115 + 2, 46 + 998 + 2. Poona: Tilak Mahārāshtra University, Vaidika Samshodhana Maṇdala (*sic*), N.D. [1933?], 1936. *Rs.* 12 each.

Max Muller's great edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary is now so difficult to procure in view of its rarity and the high price which it commands, that a sound new edition at a reasonable cost must be welcome to scholars. The volumes under review cover the first five *maṇḍalas*, and the work has proceeded far enough for a preliminary estimate of its value to be formed, though final judgment must be deferred till its completion. It is based on the collation of a considerable number of MSS., and, having compared a substantial portion of it word for word with the *editio princeps*, two points have impressed themselves on me, firstly, as might have been expected, that Max Müller's edition settled the text in all but a small number of trivial cases for all time, and secondly that this edition may be safely used by itself. On the one hand I failed to discover any new readings or differences of importance; on the other the text has been printed with unusual care, misprints being few in number and being nearly

all registered in the corrigenda. The only misleading one that I have noted as overlooked is at vol. i, p. 931, line 3, where °*apādāna*° should read °*āpādana*°.

A. 113. E. H. JOHNSTON.

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON INDIAN CULTURE. By TARA CHAND. 8¾ × 5¾, pp. vi + 327, pls. lxi Allahabad: The Indian Press, Ltd., 1936.

This pleasant and well written work provides us with an interesting review of ideas held by a long list of Hindu thinkers as to the nature of God, and of man's relation to God, and other kindred subjects. Some account of Ṣūfiism and other forms of Islamic mysticism is given, and we are shown how Ṣūfiistic teaching impressed itself on the systems of Hindu reformers and saints. Certainly the description of Hindu religious ideas is adequate and may be thoroughly commended There are also sixty-one plates at the end of the book, which add to its attractiveness.

But the business of a reviewer is to criticize; and two criticisms must occur at once to any reader. It is, indeed, obvious that Islām must have had a great influence on Indian culture. How could it be otherwise, considering that most of India has been under Muslim rulers for centuries, and that even to-day there are more Muslims in India than in any other country in the world? There is hardly any need to elaborate the point, and it is a question whether Mr. Tara Chand's book offers us any fresh ideas.

Secondly, this book, save for the last two chapters on architecture and painting, is concerned solely with theological speculation. Is culture merely this? What about music and sculpture, history, literature, language, drama, science, social life and customs? Does theological speculation on matters which are beyond actual experience and knowledge really sum up almost the whole of culture? What is culture? The *Oxford Dictionary* says it is intellectual development.

Perhaps, however, Mr. Tara Chand's treatment is right. He understands the dominant feature of Indian culture. The Hindu mind naturally turns to contemplative and speculative philosophy. It tends to ignore the development of practical activities. One would suppose that the immigration and invasion of vigorous Muslim stocks would have done something to modify this attitude of mind. Does Mr. Tara Chand fail to find any evidence that it did?

The chapter on painting does not show how Hindu art was affected by the Muslims, but how Persian painting was modified by Hindu artists.

A. 817. C. N. SEDDON.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

BUDDHIST ART IN INDIA, CEYLON, AND JAVA. By J. PH. VOGEL. Translated from the Dutch by A. J. BARNOUW. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + 115, pls. 39, map 1. Oxford · Clarendon Press, 1936. 7*s*. 6*d*.

This little "handbook", as the author calls it, comprises an English translation of *De Buddhistische Kunst van Voor-Indië*, which was published in 1932, with the addition of chapters on Ceylon and Java. After a short, appropriate introduction, seven chapters are devoted to India, treating of the monuments of Aśoka and the "National School of Sculpture of Central India", Gandhāra, Mathurā, Amarāvatī, the "Golden Age" of the Guptas, the cave temples, and the aftermath and decline. There follow a chapter on Ceylon, and one on Java, where Buddhist art perhaps attained its highest standard in the great Barabudur. Each chapter is illustrated by well-chosen, representative sculptures, which have been excellently reproduced in the plates. The work, covering so wide a field in so short a space, has been skilfully arranged on historical and regional lines, due regard being paid to the relative importance of the phases of art described. It presents the main outlines of the subject, and, having been

written by one of the foremost living authorities, provides a reliable foundation for more detailed study, to facilitate which the principal works of reference have been cited in the Bibliography.

While drawing attention to the salient features which characterize each period and region, Dr. Vogel wisely avoids "the quicksands of æsthetic disquisition, which is too often biased by personal prejudice" (p. vii). In a concise survey of this nature he has also had to avoid discussion of many debatable points Regarding the origin of the practice of making images of the Buddha—so definitely avoided in the early art of Sāñchī and Bharhut, where symbols alone appear—he writes, "the Buddha image may have originated in Gandhāra but the sculptors of Mathurā, while copying it, transformed it into something quite different." He would attribute the first impetus to the rise of Buddhist art to the commandments stated, in the Pāli *Parinibbānasutta*, to have been given to Ānanda by the Buddha shortly before he passed away, to the effect that the four sites associated with the chief events of his life should be visited "with feelings of reverence", and that a *stūpa* should be erected over his remains. He does not deal with the more elaborated suggestions of M. Foucher as to the part played in the development of Buddhist art by the preparation of mementoes or *ex-voto* objects for the use of pilgrims to the sacred places

A 735 C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

Biblical Archæology

EXÉGÈSE TARGUMIQUE DES PROPHÉTIES MESSIANIQUES. By JEAN JOSEPH BRIERRE-NARBONNE. 13 × 10, pp. 109. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935. Frs. 50.

By the publication of this volume M. Brierre-Narbonne has almost completed his survey of the Jewish interpretations of the Messianic prophecies. He here gathers together most of those which are contained in the Targums, following his

usual method of exhibiting the Aramaic texts, with translation into French, short explanatory notes, and a selection of parallel passages in Apocryphal, Rabbinic, and New Testament literature. A short introduction gives an account of the various Targums and an indication of their Messianic contents (see, however, p. 36, where he explains that he has not included those passages, of which a list is given, open to doubt). The bibliography is incomplete; critical editions of Targumic texts from Yemenite MSS. are not listed; translations by English scholars of particular books are apparently unknown; and with the exception of Dr. Robert Young's tractate there is no mention of any of the English monographs on the particular subject dealt with by our compiler. The indices (pp. 94–106) are complete, and will be useful as a guide to further study. The whole work is reproduced from M. Brierre-Narbonne's manuscript by the Dorel process, and is pleasant to read owing to his fine calligraphy.

A. 772. A W. Greenup.

Cuneiform

La Légende Phénicienne de Danel. Par Charles Virolleaud. Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités: Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Tome XXI. Mission de Ras-Shamra, Tome I. 11 × 9, pp. viii + 241, pls. 17. Paris: Geuthner, 1936. Frs. 150.

In this volume M. Virolleaud edits one of the most important of the cuneiform texts recently discovered at Ras Shamra. The text, which is poetic in character, is concerned with the adventures of a certain Aqhat, son of an ancient hero named Danel. Because Aqhat is about to become prince of the earth and therefore to receive first fruits as tribute, the goddess Anat is roused to jealousy against him. She thinks that she has been cheated out of what should be the privilege of her own offspring, of whom as yet she has none. Therefore

she threatens Aqhat with hurt, but he assuages her by promise of lavish offerings. Nevertheless, her henchman Yaṭpan is not so easily appeased, and he encompassesthe death of Aqhat. Thereupon Danel repairs to the high god El, who promises him that in the end Aqhat will yet triumph. The text closes with a fragmentary description of a festival in which offerings are indeed brought to him, and in which even Yaṭpan is compelled to pay tribute to him. It is thus evident that Aqhat was believed to be restored to life.

The text, as edited by M. Virolleaud, does not allow for so ready a comprehension of the story, since it is to be feared that he has arranged the tablets in the wrong order, placing Tablet I after Tablet II. Moreover, he does not appear to have seen that, though clothed in quasi-historical garb, this text is really the *mythos* of an autumn pantomime representing the assault of autumnal rains upon summer crops. Yatpan is simply the genius of those smaller rains which precede the autumn downpour, his name connecting with Arabic *w-ṭ-f*, Hebrew *n-ṭ-f*, etc., "drip, distil". He may thus be said to "pierce to the root" the fruits of summer. The other minor characters are likewise projected from mythology, and, in theme, this text is parallel to the Lay of Aleyan-Baal and Mot, already published in this journal.

Failure to recognize this vitiates much of M. Virolleaud's general interpretation, but it does not diminish our debt to him for his acute elucidation of the document on purely philological lines. Here he has been peculiarly happy, and although in several places it would be possible to introduce improvements, there can be no doubt that in the main, he has laid sure foundations for future work.

A few particular points: *bl ṭl bl rd* in I D. 44 surely means "no dew there was nor rain", *rd* being the Arabic رذاذ. *my ḥšpt* (ib., 51, etc.) surely means "the waters of the early showers", *hspt* being a metathesis of *s-ḥ-p* (Prov. xxviii, 3) and *s-p-ḥ* (Job xiv, 19). What is meant is the Arabic *saḥab*. In I D. 62 *palt* (|| *aklt*, i.e. "consumed land") surely connects

with Ar. ثقل "dried soil", etc., whilst *bṣql* (denoting a herb) is a crossing of *bql* "greenstuff, vegetable", with *bṣl* "onion". In the scene describing augury (I D. 110, etc.) *šmt* is the Assyrian *šimate* "marks, signs", whilst *'ṣm* connects with Arabic وعظ "monition", i.e. "portent, omen". In the scene describing the fate invoked by Danel on Yatpan (I D. 156) *tġll bnr* means "bind upon him a yoke", for cf. Arabic غل and Hebrew עֹל, and Hebrew נִיר, Assyr. *niru*. In 1 D. 167 *B'l lht* denotes a plague, the latter word standing for *lhdt* after Arabic لهد "afflict"; cf. Prov. xviii, 9, בַּעַל מַשְׁחִית.

There are several other suggestions which might be made. Readers who are interested in the subject may perhaps be referred to the reviewer's edition of the text in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, Jan. and Oct., 1937.

M. Virolleaud prefaces his edition with an account of what can be learned about the history of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) from the tablets found there. In this he discusses several texts previously published. Unfortunately, he eschews an account of social life and custom.

At the end of the volume there is a Glossary-Concordance, as well as excellent facsimile reproductions of the tablets and photographs.

If it must be candidly stated that this edition falls somewhat short of the standard previously set by M. Virolleaud, students none the less owe a deep debt of gratitude to him for the masterly way in which he has solved the major riddles of a difficult text. The defects are, indeed, those which might readily be expected in a pioneer work.

One final point: the title is a misnomer, for one of the tablets itself bears the superscription "Myth of Aqhat". Danel is doubtless the wise man mentioned in Ezekiel xiv, 14, but there is no reason to alter the title, as known to the men of Ugarit, in order to stress a single Biblical parallel.

A. 770. THEODOR H. GASTER.

VORSARGONISCHE UND SARGONISCHE WIRTSCHAFTSTEXTE. By A. POHL, S.J. Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities. Vol. V. 12¾ × 9½, pp. 29, pls. 44. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1935. M. 15.

Here are 216 pieces. The majority are pre-Sargonic; the oldest are not very old (late Fara onwards) and the youngest are Akkadian. They are briefly introduced by Father Pohl who has copied the tablets and compiled the usual lists of names with competence. The matter of the tablets is undistinguished, but important for the story of Nippur, though there is little that is properly historical. There are school-tablets, lists of workers and their allowances, lists of cereals and products, notices of a few sales and purchases.

The "Hauskauf" tablets (Nos. 71, 75, 78) are very like those found at Fara in script and in form. On these of Nippur, as on those of Fara, occurs the formula *bal* plus proper name, Thureau-Dangin regards this as a date formula, but P. Deimel contradicts, making the phrase mean "zerbrochen (ist die Schuldtafel) von NN". (Fara, i, p. 1.) To the seven examples of this formula known hitherto the Nippur texts add one new one (*bal Ur-sukkal-nun-zid-še-an-gid*) and repeat two already known. It is odd that the same names occur in the formulæ on tablets of different provenance: Telloh, Fara, and Nippur. P. Deimel's theory is by no means proved.

Of the script no very early specimens here. Clue signs to relative chronological order are the signs *šu* and *da* with the vertical wedge made head downwards (earlier), and upright (later), and the sign *a* with both strokes unbroken (earlier), and the right stroke broken (later). An examination of the copies shows that in the same *copy* there appear the earlier *šu* and, in the compound *KA.ŠU*, the later *šu* (Nos. 17, 35, 46); and the earlier and later forms of the sign *a* (Nos. 25, 34, 46, 102, 138, 150, 181), even in the writing of the same name (No. 114); and the simple *a* in later form, but the earlier *a* in the compound *KA.A* (i.e. *nag*) on the same tablet (No. 122).

There are Nippur variants of formulæ used elsewhere, e.g. *še-/, gan-/, šu-nigin-/, gu-an-šù-/ PI* (for the regular *bi*). At Ur, *gu-an-šù* is usual, *šu-nigin* never occurs; at Fara both occur but *gu-an-šù* more frequently; at Nippur both are used, and twice (Nos. 39, 67) both occur on the same text.

The large number of personal names are mostly Sumerian. Few have a divine element; of these *Ur-*[d]*N* is by far the commonest style. There is only one *lú-*[d]*N* name and only four *lugal-*[d]*N*. It might be better to read Lu-la-la *for* Udu-la-la; Ì-lí-a-ḫi *for* Ni-ni-a-dùg; La-gi-pù (m) *for* La-gi-šub; Ib-lul-il *for* Ib-nar-il; Ì-lí-be$_6$-lí *for* Ni-ni-pi-ni.

The names of deities are got chiefly from personal names. As might be expected at Nippur, Enlil is the most popular in personal names. But his consort Ninlil occurs only in two names. Dumuzi is here and the form Enkidu but not Gilgameš. The moon god is written "Sin", never "Nannar". And Ninurta and Nintiugga which are said to appear first in Ur III, make a much earlier appearance on these tablets. The information concerning the cult of the gods is meagre. Each of Nos. 155–9 is described as "Opferliste". This is doubtful.

Names of places are fairly numerous. But surely *In-maš-ga-ni-ki* is an error; *in* being prepositional. The phrase recalls the various forms of *in Maš-gan-ki* on Meek's Nuzi tablets of the Akkadian age.

A. 775. T. FISH.

TABLETTES CAPPADOCIENNES. Par J. LEWY. Troisième Série, Première Partie. (Musée du Louvre. Textes Cunéiformes. Tome XIX.) 12½ × 8½, pp. 3, pls. lxxx. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1935.

This volume contains exclusively business documents of the "letter" class. The tablets are for the greater part well preserved, and the eighty-one documents here published serve to confirm, correct, and sometimes add to our knowledge. There is, perhaps, in all the extensive field of cuneiform

business documents no single class more difficult to understand than the "Cappadocian" business "letter". This is partly because the matter is allusive, referring to unknown relationships and conditions of a private nature, partly because the writing represents a living dialect (too often called "Old Assyrian") of the Eastern Semitic group, adapted to the needs of a group without ethnic, religious, or political unity, following grammatical rules and exhibiting peculiarities not yet clearly understood, but principally because the social structure of this society was much more complicated and more moulded by the conditions of international trade than any yet known to us in early times.

The very first text in this book serves to illustrate these points. It is apparently addressed to three persons, Puzur-Aššir, Amua, and Aššir-Samši; yet throughout the document these three are addressed in the second pers. sing.; even if *amua* is to be taken as *emua*, a view favoured by the presence of a single wedge before it not used with the other names, there is still some reason for treating two persons as one which escapes us, and yet is important for the understanding of the position. The dialectic use of *ula* to present an alternative, a grammatical use peculiar to these texts, occurs in the string of imperatives, ll. 28–9, *tib'ama atalkam ula kaspam šukunam*, "rise, come or, if not, deposit cash." The use of a word in a dialect sense appears in l. 12 ff., *ina ellat(at) ellat(at) dubbum ilukunimakum matima tirtaga ula ilikam*, "though our tablets have come to you by one caravan after another, your instructions have still not come to me"; elsewhere *ellatu* means "military forces, succour". Finally, the understanding of the letter depends on a usage with regard to credit which has never yet, to my knowledge, been pointed out in the many discussions by legal authorities; a sharp difference was drawn between "men", that is men of honour, and men without honour, "not men." In the instance of this text, men had been trading in two different towns on a mutual account, without cash deposit (l. 8),

and without deducting a percentage from transactions for security (ll. 9–10), on the understanding that if there was a deficiency in the balance of goods in stock (ll. 20–1, *šuma ata babtiga zahrati* = *šumma atta babtika ṣehrat*, "if your stock goods [lit. things in the gate] are short," viz. of the amount owing) to cover payments due, a deposit of cash should be made (l. 22). Zilalabum (Ṣilli-abi) and Elani, closely associated with him, complain that owing to the breach of such an arrangement they are themselves reduced to "not men", *ata ana la awelim ina eliga šaknuni*, "Why are we made into 'not men' on your account?" (ll. 26–7). They threaten legal action to discredit Puzur-Ašir in the foreign settlement (l. 33, *i garim nibašga*) so that he can no longer be treated as an equal (l. 34, *u ata ana la ahini taduar*). It is probable that certain sections of Hammurabi's Code are to be understood with reference to this social distinction. Above all, the much discussed *šalmu-kenu* clause in the Old Babylonian documents, which cannot possibly refer to "Solidar haftung" as it appears where there is no plurality of debtors (the complicated explanation most recently given implies that the ancients did not understand the expressions they used themselves), must refer to this same distinction. The words *šalmu* and *kenu*, "whole" and "regular", can quite well refer to the social standing of an individual as a "man", *awelu*, and the attempt to restrict the meaning to a sense implying a different reference is merely pontifical.

Much more of great interest will result from a close study of this volume. We may be allowed here to express the hope that Dr. Lewy, whose work has suffered owing to causes from which scholarship ought to be immune, may yet find means in America to pursue his work on this class of documents.

SIDNEY SMITH.

A. 654.

Islam

THE HISTORY OF IBN AL-FURĀT. Vol. IX, Part I. Edited by COSTI K. ZURAYK. 9½ × 6½, pp. 243, pl. i. Beirut: American Press, 1936.

This history is in ungrammatical and unclassical Arabic, but these faults are easily forgiven to an author who compels his reader to follow him to the last page. It is part of a vast chronicle beginning with Adam and continuing to the writer's time; but this volume of 243 pages deals with four years of the final period, from A.H. 789 to A.H. 792 (A.D. 1387 to 1390), and records extraordinary peripeteias of Mamluke Egypt, the dethronement of the Sultan Barquq by a viceroy who very soon had to flee before another rebel, and helped Barquq, who displayed both personal courage and sagacity, to recover his throne. Although Ibn al-Furāt frequently quotes contemporary writers for his material, he is here describing events which he himself witnessed, and in which he took some part; and indeed his accounts reflect the anxiety of one who is waiting for a dénouement whose nature he cannot foretell. The narrative is rendered all the more impressive by its proceeding according to the system adopted. Appointments made by the ephemeral rulers are scrupulously enumerated; at the end of a year the story is interrupted by obituary notices of important persons.

The editor has noticed differences between Ibn al-Furāt's statements and those of other historians of Egypt, and explained difficult expressions; his work is throughout painstaking and scholarly. His brief Introduction is to be enlarged in a monograph on Ibn al-Furāt and his sources; and in addition to a Part II, which is to complete this volume, he contemplates editing as much as is known to be in existence of the earlier volumes. One could scarcely expect those which cover the periods of Ṭabari and Ibn al-Athir to add much to our knowledge.

A. 781. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ASH'ĀR AWLĀD AL-KHULAFĀ' WA AKHBĀRUHUM. From the Kitāb al-Awrāḳ. By AṢ-ṢŪLI. Edited by J. HEYWORTH-DUNNE. 9½ × 6¼, pp. 11 + 361. London: Luzac and Co., 1936.

Sections of the *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ* continue to appear and there is no need to repeat what has been said in notices of the earlier parts. As there is a gap in the photograph in the Cairo library, corresponding to p. 320 of the printed text, a few pages have been extracted from the *Kitāb al-Aghāni* to give some continuity to the story. The interest in this part, as in the first, is mainly literary, but Aṣ-Ṣūli was not bound slavishly by his title and included poems about the royal family as well as by them. The longest section is given to Ibn al-Mu'tazz and contains much that is not in the *dīwān*. The extracts from his letters, which vary from a page to half a line, are chosen for reasons of style only. The poems about wine make good reading, even though they are not very original. Al-Naẓẓām anticipated him in the conceit that wine is the spirit and the jar the body. In this connection "cobwebbed jars" is quite orthodox. The Mesopotamian poet welcomed autumn as eagerly as the Elizabethans welcomed the spring. His love poems are monotonous. 'Alīya, the sister of Hārūn al-Rashīd, had a reputation for piety, "she was either praying or singing," yet she seems to have been flighty, and we are not surprised that her brother objected to her writing poems to servants of the palace. One anecdote is told against her Startled by a noise, a man said, "Till now I have never believed that the Greek organ murders music." Al-Ma'mūn told him, "That is your aunt 'Alīya teaching your uncle Ibrāhīm a song."

A. S. TRITTON.

Arabic Inscriptions in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America. By Werner Caskel; translation from the German by Beatrice Gilman Proske. 12 × 9, pp. xiii + 44, ills. 60. New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1936.

Though the Arabs were settled in Spain and parts of Portugal for over 700 years, for a long time as supreme power, and left in the shape of buildings some of the choicest monuments of architecture, the quantity of inscriptions preserved is comparatively small considering the long period. With great erudition Mr. Provençal published in 1931, in two volumes, a description of all inscriptions, whether on buildings or tombstones, found scattered over the whole of Spain. It is by a happy chance that a further number of such inscriptions, principally on tombstones, got into the possession of the Hispanic Society of America and the detailed description with very good photographs of the most conspicuous specimens is the subject of this small, but sumptuously printed, volume.

As most of the stones came from the collection of Spanish gentlemen living in Almeria, an important port on the south-east of Spain during the Middle Ages, it is not surprising that most of the inscriptions came from that town. They exceed in number even those recorded by Mr. Provençal and date from 312/927 to 528/1138, with one exception of a later date. The tombstones are of two types, slabs of about a yard in height with half its width of comparatively thin marble, and prismatic stones which lay on the top of the graves varying in length. The execution is in all cases beautiful and the writing is the monumental Kufic which we find for the early centuries of the Hijra from Syria to Spain. In judging the script on monuments we have always to bear in mind that the more cursive script was more difficult for the mason to execute, though it is fair to assume that the text of the inscription was probably drawn upon the slab by some educated person, and that the mason's work was solely to execute the inscription with

as much skill as possible. We find phrases like جدى الاول ; the editor believes that they may be due to the ignorance of a Christian sculptor. I cannot agree to this; for similar errors occur in manuscripts written about the same time in Persia by undoubted Muslims. While most of the tombs belong to unknown persons, two stones, Nos. XVIII and XIX, give the graves of two ladies of high rank. Though they themselves are unknown to history, the author has established their identity and gives a short but clear account of the importance of their family. Did both of them die young and unmarried?

The two stones described under Nos. 52 and 53 belong no doubt to another part of Spain as the material is different, and, on account of the much later date, in entirely different script.

A. 709. F. KRENKOW.

MUGHULṬAI'S BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE MARTYRS OF LOVE. Edited from the two extant manuscripts in Istanbul. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 18. By OTTO SPIES. Vol. I. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 224. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1936. RM. 10.

A short account of this encyclopædia of lovers was given by Professor Otto Spies in his contribution to the P. Kahle *Festschrift* (Leiden, 1935, pp. 145–155). The importance of the compilation is stressed by Dr. H. Ritter in his *Philologika* VII (*Der Islam*, 1933, pp. 88–9), who calls attention in particular to the many quotations from rare works which occur in the book. Mughlaṭai, who is otherwise known as a traditionist, died in the year 762/1361. The present work was written during 740–1/1339–1340; and as one of the two manuscripts on which Professor Spies bases his edition was written as early as 742/1341, it will be appreciated that the text

rests on an unusually secure foundation. Since the editor intends in a second volume to deal with all textual and literary problems arising out of the book, as well as providing full indices, it is not necessary at present to give more than the unqualified welcome which such a valuable contribution to a fascinating branch of knowledge deserves. The book is well and on the whole accurately printed, although we agree with the editor that it is a misfortune that the Indian press which issued it did not possess sufficient fount to print the verses with vowel-marks. An erratum slip corrects all the serious errors.

A. 803. A. J. ARBERRY.

Miscellaneous

THE HEBREW-ARABIC DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE KNOWN AS KITĀB JĀMI' AL-ALFĀẒ (AGRŌN) OF DAVID BEN ABRAHAM AL-FĀSĪ (TENTH CENTURY). Edited by SOLOMON L. KROSS, Vol. I. Yale University Series, Researches, Vol. XX. 10 × 7¼, pp. cli + 600. New Haven Yale University Press, 1936. 35*s.*

Editors of Anecdota are at times harassed by the thought that the works which they bring to light had best have remained "unpublished"; Professor Kross is fortunate in being free from such anxiety, since according to him "the importance of this Dictionary, as one of the earliest sources for Hebrew and comparative Semitic philology, can hardly be overestimated". He has certainly bestowed on it as much care as even according to his estimate it can deserve, and the results of his researches, communicated in the Introduction, are of great interest. The author was a Karaite, originally of Fez, but settled, it would appear, in Jerusalem, and acquainted with the geography of Palestine. Like the Israelite with whom the author of *Al-Mathal al-Sa'ir* conversed (Cairo, 1282, p. 113), he seems to have regarded Arabic as a sort of modification of Hebrew, whence he uses עלי מסמעה "according to

its sound" of Hebrew words with the sense "according to its meaning in Arabic". The editor has with much research enucleated the relations of this dictionary to previous and subsequent works. Hebrew grammar, if not quite in its infancy, had made little progress when it was compiled. The observations in the Introduction on the use of grammatical terms, and in general on the author's language, are instructive.

The employment of the Hebrew character, which would appear to be that of all the MSS., is obviously right; and the printing is in every way admirable. My use of the Arabic character in the edition of Jephet's Daniel was, I think, justified by the fact that the oldest MSS., of which there are fragments in the British Museum, were in that character, and those in the Hebrew script showed clear signs of transliteration from the other. Hebrew written in it looks so strange that this Karaite must have had some adequate ground for adopting it in the case of biblical quotations. Did he think that the addition of vowel-signs to the original text violated the rule of Deut. iv, 2, just as we may suspect that the vocalization of the Qur'ān had something to do with the fall of the Umayyad dynasty?

Since this volume only deals with eight letters out of twenty-two it would be premature to base upon it any opinion as to the extent to which the work justifies the editor's view of its importance. It cannot well have the merit which gives old dictionaries like those of Hesychius and Suidas their value, i.e. their preserving fragments of ancient lore which would otherwise have been lost. And the specimens of exegesis which strike the eye as one glances through its pages seem curious rather than scholarly. That the editor has done his work well will, however, be agreed, whatever judgment may be passed on the author.

A. 783. D. S. Margoliouth.

YRJÖ WICHMANNS WORTERBUCH DES UNGARISCHEN MOLDAUER NORDCSÁNGÓ- UND DES HÉTFALUER CSÁNGÓDIALEKTES NEBST GRAMMATIKALISCHEN AUFZEICHNUNGEN UND TEXTEN AUS DEM NORDCSÁNGÓDIALEKT herausgegeben von B. CSŰRY und A. KANNISTO. 10¼ × 7½, pp. xv + 219, pl. 1. Helsinki: *Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae* IV. 1936. 160 Finnish marks.

Like the rest of the series to which it belongs, this work is excellently produced. It well exemplifies that close collaboration of Finnish and Hungarian scholars which has always been such a happy feature of Finno-Ugrian philology.

In 1906-7 the great Finnish Finno Ugrist Professor Yrjo Wichmann (b. 1868, d. 1932) made a journey to the areas in question with the object of carrying out linguistic field-work—a type of research which, by reason of his earlier expeditions to the Udmurt-Votyaks (1891-2 and 1894), the Komi-Syrjanes (1901-2), and the Mari-Cheremiss (1905-6), he was peculiarly fitted for. His material is here presented under the editorship of a Finn, Professor A. Kannisto, and a Hungarian, Professor B. Csűry.

The dialects dealt with in this work are Csángó dialects. According to Z. Gombocz and J. Melich, *Magyar etymologiai szótár* s.v. 1. *csángó*, the word *csángó* (of doubtful etymology) is used by the Székelys to designate the Hungarians of Moldavia and also those of certain parts of Transylvania; the Hungarians of Moldavia call themselves—and also their compatriots in the Bukowina—by this name. Of the situation of the Moldavian Csángós Kannisto and Csűry say (p. vii): "Die Moldau-Csángós sitzen hauptsachlich in zwei Kreisen: in dem nördlichen Roman und in dem sudlichen Bacău. Einige Csángó-Dorfer gibt es ausserdem noch in den Kreisen Neamţ und Tecuciu." Wichmann's North Csángó material was collected in Săbăoani = Szabófalva ("komitat" of Roman), the largest Csángó village of Moldavia (c 3,500), over a period of nearly five months. He then proceeded to Satulung = Hosszúfalu

= *Langendorf* (*near Braşov* = *Brassó* = *Kronstadt*) where, for about two months, he studied the "Hétfalu" Csángó dialect which, despite its name, does not stand in any particularly close relationship to that of the Moldavian Csángós.

It is the results of these two studies which are presented in this work. After an introduction (pp vii–xv) there follows first (pp. 1–173) the dictionary of the two dialects, arranged in one alphabet. The flexional type is indicated, the corresponding standard Hungarian form given, and the meaning explained in German; the numerous Roumanian loan-words are pointed out. There follow next (pp. 177–198) the paradigms of the Szabófalva dialect—a most useful feature which should figure more often than it does in the dialect dictionaries of "difficult" languages—and, finally (pp. 201–219), texts from Szabófalva in phonetic transcription and with German translation.

This is the first account of the Hétfalu Csángó dialect and by far the most detailed and clear account of that of the Moldavian Csángós. The present exhaustive work will be welcomed by all Finno-Ugrists as a most important contribution to Hungarian philology.

Detailed criticism cannot be attempted by one without personal knowledge of the dialects, and I will, therefore, only call attention to two secondary points (1) it is unfortunate that modern Finno-Ugrian philology—exemplified here—tends so much towards "narrow" phonetics and away from phonematology that works containing standard Finno-Ugrian forms can virtually only be printed at one or two presses (cf. *BSOS.*, viii, 234–5); (2) the finding of words would have been facilitated if the standard Hungarian forms had been made to stand out (e.g. by the employment of clarendon).

ALAN S. C. ROSS.

A. 822.

Bibliography of Jewish Bibliographies. By Shlomo Shunami. 10 × 7, pp. iv + 399 + ix. Jerusalem: University Press, London: W. and G. Foyle, 1936. 30s.

This excellent publication provides a classified list of bibliographies covering all aspects of Judaica. In twenty-six chapters the compiler registers catalogues of public and private libraries, lists of Jewish periodicals, indexes to works dealing with Bible, Talmud, Qabalah, Hebrew language, Liturgies, Music, Yiddish, Ladino, Zionism, Sects, Typography, Manuscripts, etc. There are no less than 2,035 entries, and at the end there is a complete index of authors' names and subjects.

A general and superficial test does not reveal any omissions, and readers will be glad to have such detailed information as is here afforded concerning the printed catalogues of lesser-known libraries and collections.

Sometimes the compiler finds it difficult to draw the line between general catalogues and specific bibliographies touching one or other very particular inquiry. Thus it seems scarcely necessary to enter in this list Joachim Jeremias' list of descriptions of the Samaritan Passover, contained in his work *Die Passahfeier der Samaritaner*, for on this basis one could go on reproducing the bibliography quoted by any scholar in any work on any subject. It is also not quite clear on what basis the author has made his selection of booksellers' catalogues. These are, of course, valuable, but one wonders, for instance, why Messrs. Maggs' sumptuous catalogue of Hebraica is not included. Again, on what principle is Hirschfeld's *History of Jewish Lexicographers* and Margolis' work on Jewish Translations of the Bible excluded?

These, however, are really unimportant points, and it would be ungrateful to cavil. Especially welcome is the long list of bibliographies of distinguished Jewish scholars.

Librarians and scholars will find this work extremely useful, and Mr. Shunami is to be both thanked and congratulated on the excellent manner in which he has accomplished it.

A. 741. Theodor H. Gaster.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

SAUNDARYA-LAHIRĪ (The Ocean of Beauty). Ed. by PT. S. S. ŚĀSTRI and T. R. S. AYYAṄGAR. Theosophical Publishing House : Adyar : Madras, 1937.

GENESIS VEERTIEN. By J. H. KROEZE. Hilversum : J. Schipper, Jr., 1937.

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES : DEUTERONOMY. By JOSEPH REIDER. Philadelphia : The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1937.

SELF-EXPRESSION AND THE INDIAN SOCIAL PROBLEM. By SATYA DASS. Lahore : Sharma Niwas, 1937.

KITĀB AL-TAWAHHUM. By ḤĀRITH IBN ASAD AL-MUḤĀSIBĪ. Ed. by A. J. ARBERRY. Cairo : Association of Authorship, Translation and Publication Press, 1937.

CHINA BODY AND SOUL. Ed. by E. R. HUGHES. Contributions by L. BINYON, R. FRY, E. R. HUGHES, I. JACKSON, H. J. LASKI, B. MATHEWS, G. MURRAY, RUSSELL PASHA, E. POWER, A. SALTER and A. WALEY. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 166. London : Secker and Warburg, 1938.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal

The ceremony of the Anniversary General Meeting was preceded by the presentation of the Society's Triennial Gold Medal to Professor R. A. Nicholson for his outstanding services to Islamic Literature. After an introduction by Professor Margoliouth, the Director, in the absence of the President owing to illness, the presentation was made by Sir E. Denison Ross on behalf of the Society.

ANNIVERSARY GENERAL MEETING

12th May, 1938

Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Director, in the chair.

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting on 20th May, 1937.

We regret to announce the death of the following Honorary Members and others since the last Anniversary Meeting :—

Professor A. V. Williams Jackson
Professor Hermann Jacobi
Mrs M. Griffith
Dr K P. Jayaswal
Sir Reginald Johnston
Professor S. H Langdon
Dr A Mingana
Hon. Desmond Parsons
H H. The Maharaja of Patiala
Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin
Dr. J. N Reuter
Prince Svasti Sobhana
Rev P. C. Jinavaravansa
"Lieut -Col." H. V. Rohu (S.A.)

The following Members have resigned —

Sir T. M. Ainscough
Mr C. Bamber
Mr. M V Bhide
Mrs. Halley Brown
Mr. N. Deerr
Mr. C. Haller
Rai Bahadur P. N. Mullick
Mr. P. S. O'Brien-Butler
Rev. W. S. Urquhart
Mr. P. W. Whittlesey

The following have taken up their election :—

As Resident Members

Mr. E. S. Bates
Mr. L. M. Chefdeville
Mrs. Winifred Holmes
Professor V. Minorsky
Mr. C. H. Reid
Miss Marie Seton

The following has taken up his election as Resident Member Compounding for Subscription :—

Colonel D. M. F. Hoysted

As Non-Resident Members

Mr. A N. Bansiramani
Rev. R. Bell
Dr. S. Birnbaum
Mr J. F Blakiston
Mr. J. H. Breasted, jnr.
Rev. A. Cameron
Mrs. E. M Clark
Dr. Austin Craig
Mr. H I. Husain Hilmi Didi
Miss Margaret Drower
Rev. A. J. Fonseca
Mr Y. A. Godbole
Mr. M. Md. Hamid
Mr. M. Abdul Haq
Mr. S. E. Ingemann
H.H. The Maharaja of Jhalawar
Khan Sahib Ch. Bashir Ahmad Khan
Captain H. Lloyd-Morris
Sir T. Stewart Macpherson
Mr. R. B Lal Mathur
Mr. Niranjan Nath
Mr L Parmanand
Mr. Gopu Ramchandra Rao
Kunwar Gordhan Singh Rathore
Sardar Sahib Balbhadra Singh
Mr. N. D. Waknis
Professor J. Dennis Ward
Miss E. M. Watts
Madame Negib Wissa

As Library Associates

Miss E. Ramsden
Mrs. E S. Keen

As Student Associate

Mr. J. A C. Pearce.

The President and Council have elected the undermentioned Orientalists to take the places of Professors Adolf Erman, A. V. Williams Jackson, and Hermann Jacobi as Hon. Members of the Society :—

Professor René Dussaud
Professor Arthur Christensen
Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath Jha

Ill health has unhappily rendered it impossible for our President, Lord Hailey, to carry out his duties since last summer. They have, therefore, been discharged by the Director for most of the year. The Society is indeed grateful to Professor Margoliouth for his generous help, as he had only just completed his turn of duty as President.

Under the terms of Rule 25, 33 persons ceased to be members of the Society owing to non-payment of their annual subscriptions, a decrease of 4 since 1936. The total number of members is 734 (17th March, 1938): this number shows an increase of 2 during the past year. The number of subscribing libraries is 246, that is to say 6 less than in the previous year. The number of Library Associates has decreased from 24 to 20, and Student Associates decreased from 5 to 3, though two of them have become Library Associates at an increased subscription.

The number of visits paid to the Library by Students during the year was 861, and the number of books lent to members was 800. 148 books were lent to affiliated libraries through the National Central Library, and 80 were borrowed by members of the Society through that clearing house.

Lectures.—One of the items of interest provided for members of the Society consisted of the lectures, which are given from time to time on different Oriental subjects. The following were given during the past year; almost all were illustrated by lantern slides:—

"Richard Burton." By Sir Arnold Wilson. Burton Memorial Lecture

"What the Modern World owes to Ancient Egypt." By Professor Blackman.

"The Hittites: some aspects of their Art and History." By Mr. R. D. Barnett.

"A Visit to Bali and Java." By Lady Hosie.

"A Journey of Archæological Exploration in South Western Iran (1935–36)." By Sir Aurel Stein.

"Japanese Myth." By Professor Kochi Doi.

"Exploring the Past in Cyprus." By Mrs. Olive Murray Chapman.

"Among the Naga Tribes of Assam." By Dr. Christophe von Fuhrer-Haimendorf.

"Extracts from the Chronicle of Yunini." By Professor Margoliouth.

"The Archæology of Hindoo Sumatra." By Dr. F. M. Schnitger.

"The Earliest Hebrew Writings: from Ras Shamra." By Mr. Theodore H. Gaster.

Universities Prize Essay.—Two alternative subjects were prescribed by the Council for the Universities Prize Essay Competition for 1937: either "Tamerlane" or "The Relations of the Greeks with the East". The prize of £20 and Diploma were awarded to Mr. D. P. Costello of Trinity College, Cambridge, for his essay on the second of the two subjects. Other essays submitted were of such a high standard that a special prize consisting of a book was awarded to Mr. John Bowman, of Glasgow University, for his essay on the first subject. Cambridge has now won the prize twice, Bristol twice, and Oxford once.

The following books were published by the Society during the past year:—

Oriental Translation Fund, No. 34. *Ibn Abi'l Dunyā's Kitāb al-Malāhī*, by J. Robson.

Prize Publication Fund, No. 15: *Early Samkhya*, by E. H. Johnston.

Forlong Fund, No. 16: *Kashmiri Sounds*, by T. Grahame Bailey.

Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporevala of Poona has very generously offered to endow a Trust Fund for the publication, under the auspices of the Society, of original works on Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism. The details are being arranged by the Hon. Treasurer.

It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding the curtailment of the size of the *Journal*, its sale has not only not been prejudiced thereby, but has steadily risen.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1936						
Carnegie Grant for printing Catalogue	250	0	0			
Compounded Subscriptions Account . .	610	11	3			
	860	11	3			
Less: Over-Expenditure on General Account .	731	10	1			
				129	1	2
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members .	233	2	0			
Non-Resident Members .	705	18	0			
Resident Compounders . .	69	6	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	71	18	4			
Students and Miscellaneous	35	1	0			
				1,115	5	4
RENTS RECEIVED . . .				695	0	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India .	315	0	0			
" Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
" Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
" Hong Kong	10	0	0			
				385	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS .				174	9	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	448	6	4			
Additional Copies sold	29	10	11			
Pamphlets sold	3	1	4			
				480	18	7
DIVIDENDS . .				85	16	0
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES .					17	0
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES .					5	8
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				5	15	2
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				56	12	2
				£3,129	0	1

INVESTMENTS

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
£1,426 1*s.* 10*d.* Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1*s.* 1*d.* 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960–90.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1937

PAYMENTS

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—		
Rent and Land Tax	498 4 10	
Rates, less contributions by Tenants	105 9 1	
Gas and Light, do.	75 15 1	
Coal and Coke, do.	48 8 9	
Telephone	12 13 1	
Cleaning	6 8 6	
Insurance	35 6 6	
Repairs and Renewals	85 18 8	
		868 4 6
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND		30 0 0
SALARIES AND WAGES		808 15 0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY		62 3 4
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—		
Printing	747 17 5	
Postage	50 0 0	
		797 17 5
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE		126 0 8
GENERAL POSTAGE		58 6 0
AUDIT FEE		5 5 0
CLARENDON PRESS—		
Transfer of Special Donation received in 1936		100 0 0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—		
Teas	23 11 8	
Lectures	28 14 6	
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	20 14 0	
Coronation Reception	54 16 11	
Other General Expenditure	52 14 6	
		180 11 7
BALANCE AT 31st DECEMBER, 1937		
Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250 0 0	
Compounded Subscriptions Account	751 15 7	
	1,001 15 7	
Less: Over-expenditure on General Account	909 19 0	
		91 16 7
Represented by:		
Cash at Bank on General Account	82 6 6	
Cash at Post Office Savings Bank	5 7	
Cash in hand	9 4 6	
	91 16 7	
		£3,129 0 1

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { R. E ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
C. N SEDDON, Auditor for the Society.

6th April, 1938.

SPECIAL FUNDS

Oriental Translation Fund

Receipts	£ s d	Payments	£ s. d	£ s. d.
1937 Jan. 1.		1937 Dec 31.		
Balance . .	283 4 9	Storage of Stock .		3 8 8
Sales .	77 13 11	Binding 25 Vols XX and XXXII .		2 10 0
Interest on Deposit .	1 4 11	Balance carried to Summary . . .		356 9 10
	£362 3 6			£362 3 6

Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund

Jan 1		Dec 31		
Balance	167 17 3	Printing 500 and Binding 125 Vols XXII		153 17 0
Sales	34 8 6	Balance carried to Summary . . .		48 8 9
	£202 5 9			£202 5 9

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.		Dec 31		
Oriental Translation Fund	356 9 10	Cash at Bank—		
Royal Asiatic Society Monograph Fund	48 8 9	On Current Account	154 18 7	
		On Deposit Account	250 0 0	404 18 7
	£404 18 7			£404 18 7

Leasehold Redemption Fund

Jan 1		Dec 31		
Balance . .	482 5 1	Balance represented by £494 7s 2d. 3½% War Loan	512 5 1	
Transfer from General Account	30 0 0	Cash at Bank .	17 6 0	529 11 1
Dividends to be Re-invested . .	17 6 0			
	£529 11 1			£529 11 1

TRUST FUNDS

Prize Publication Fund

1937. Jan 1		1937 Dec 31		
Balance . .	147 4 10	Subsidy towards a Dictionary of Chinese-Buddhist Terms		50 0 0
Sales . .	21 7 6	Printing 500 and Binding 100 Vols XV .		61 18 0
Dividends	18 0 0	Sundries . . .		1 1 0
Special Grant	60 0 0	Balance carried to Summary . . .		133 13 4
	£246 12 4			£246 12 4

Gold Medal Fund

Jan. 1.		Dec. 31		
Balance . .	50 5 11	Balance carried to Summary . . .		60 0 11
Dividends	9 15 0			
	£60 0 11			£60 0 11

Universities Prize Essay Fund

Jan. 1.		Dec. 31.		
Balance	138 14 2	Cash Prize . . .		20 0 0
Dividends .	20 15 4	Sundries . .		2 11 6
		Balance carried to Summary . . .		136 18 0
	£159 9 6			£159 9 6

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

	£ s. d		£ s. d
Jan. 1.		Dec 31	
BALANCE . . .	9 10 8	SUNDRIES . . .	1 17 0
DIVIDENDS . .	20 6 6	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY . .	28 0 2
	£29 17 2		£29 17 2

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.		Dec. 31.	
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	133 13 4	CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	358 12 5
GOLD MEDAL FUND	60 0 11		
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND .	136 18 0		
DR B C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT .	28 0 2		
	£358 12 5		£358 12 5

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable " B " Stock (Prize Publication Fund)
£325 Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable " A " Stock (Gold Medal Fund)
£645 11s 2d. Nottingham Corporation Irredeemable " B " Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund)
£40 3½% Conversion Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
Rs. 12,000 3½% Government of India Promissory Note No 034904 of 1879 (Dr. B C Law Trust Account).

I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct I have also had produced to me certificates in verification of the Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { R. E ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
C. N SEDDON, Auditor for the Society.

6th April, 1938.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
1937. Jan 1.		1937 Dec 31	
BALANCE . . .	9 16 8	COST OF MEDAL . .	2 7 6
DIVIDENDS	1 9 4	SUNDRIES	17 0
		BALANCE, CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	8 1 6
	£11 6 0		£11 6 0

INVESTMENT—
£49 0s 10d. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan 1		Dec 31	
BALANCE . . .	376 6 9	10% COMMISSION ON 1936 SALES . . .	5 15 2
SALES . .	39 14 10	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES—SCHOLARSHIP	50 0 0
DIVIDENDS	201 8 10	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES — RESEARCH STUDENTSHIP . .	150 0 0
INCOME-TAX RECOVERED FOR THE YEAR ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1936	32 12 8	FEE FOR RECOVERY OF INCOME-TAX . .	3 3 0
		PRINTING 200 AND BINDING 100 VOL XVI .	90 18 6
		BINDING 25 VOL. I .	18 9
		BALANCE, CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	349 7 8
	£650 3 1		£650 3 1

INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14s 7d. New South Wales 4% Inscribed Stock 1942–62
£1,015 16s 3d South Australian Government 4% Government Inscribed Stock 1940–60.
£1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4% Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6s. 3d India 3½% Inscribed Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan.
£45 East India Railway Co Annuity Class " B ".
£258 18s. 4d 3½% War Loan

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
C. N. SEDDON, Auditor for the Society.

6th April, 1938.

By the provisions of Rules 28 to 30, an influx of new members of Council is ensured every year. During the present Session we lose the services of Sir Edward Maclagan as the senior Vice-President and four Members of Council after four years of office under Rules 30-32. Your Council recommends that these vacancies be filled by the election, through the appointed method, of :—

As Vice-President :	Dr. M Gaster.
As Members of Council.	Professor H W Bailey, M A, D.Phil
	J. Heyworth-Dunne, Esq.
	Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K C I.E., M A.
	H. N. Spalding, Esq.
	Sir Richard Winstedt, K B.E, C M G., D Litt

The three Honorary Officers must retire as required by the Rules, but they are eligible for and are recommended for re-election to their respective offices. We regret that ill-health has led Dr Blagden to resign his place on the Council as Vice-President, where his great experience and wide knowledge in all matters connected with the Malayan Archipelago has been of the utmost assistance to the Society. Their places are recommended to be filled as under —

As Vice-President.	L C. Hopkins, Esq
As Hon Librarian	A G Ellis Esq.
As Hon. Secretary.	C. E. A W. Oldham, Esq.
As Hon. Treasurer ·	E. S M Perowne, Esq

Dr. Blagden is recommended for appointment as Honorary Vice-President in grateful recognition of his valuable services to the Society over a long period.

The accounts of the Society for 1937 have been audited as usual, both by a professional firm and by a board appointed by you at the last Anniversary General Meeting. This board consisted of Mr. R. E. Enthoven, for the Council, Mr. C. N. Seddon, for the Members, and Sir Nicholas Waterhouse for the

professional auditors. The meeting was held on 6th April, and the auditors reported as under.—

"The Professional Auditor has explained the accounts to us, and as usual complimented the officials of the Society on their accuracy and completeness. We note again that the statement of receipts and expenditure does not give an accurate presentation of the financial position. In addition to the decrease in the final balance compared with 1936, there is to be noted the usual encroachment on assets due to utilizing full commuted subscriptions for the current expenses of the Society instead of investing them. In spite of special efforts to secure donations and subscriptions, the annual income appears to have fallen short of expenditure by about £80. Some additional source of revenue or an alteration in the expenditure is desirable if the Society's resources are to be saved from gradual dissipation. We view the position with some alarm.

R. E. ENTHOVEN (for the Council).
C. N. SEDDON (for the Society)."

The accounts are now presented for examination in detail.

Under Rule 81 the Professional Auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., retire, but, being eligible, they offer themselves for re-election. They kindly give their services to the Society at a very much reduced fee, for which the Society is grateful. It is recommended that the Auditors for the ensuing Session be Lt.-Col D. L. R. Lorimer for the Council, Sir Richard Burn for the Members, and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. as the professional auditors.

The Honorary Solicitors, who have kindly assisted us for so many years, freely and without fee, are still Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., Mr. D. H. Bramall has always been most generous and helpful in giving his professional advice whenever required by the Society, which is very grateful to him.

The congratulations of the Society are due to our Director, Emeritus Professor D. S. Margoliouth upon the dinner held

in his honour in the Hall of New College, Oxford, of which he was a Fellow for 57 years, in recognition of the distinguished services rendered by him as Laudian Professor of Arabic at that University; also to Professor H. A. R. Gibb on his succession to that Chair, and to Professor E. Hamilton Johnston on his appointment as Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the same University.

Mr. Lewis C. Loyd, of 25 Moore Street, S.W. 3, has, very generously, presented to the Society the Eckenstein Collection of all the works of Sir Richard Burton. The presentation takes us one step nearer to the realization of a worthy Burton Memorial. The donor writes:—"I believe the collection to be practically complete, that is, that it contains a copy of every edition of the books properly so-called, and also copies of, at any rate, the great bulk of miscellaneous papers and articles contributed by Burton to periodicals."

The Islamic Research Association

This Association was founded in 1933 with headquarters in Bombay, its objects being "the promotion of research in all branches of Islamic learning, the giving of aid, financial and other, to scholars doing research, and of authoritative information on Islamic subjects to those who desired it". The six Founder Members were A. M Mecklai, Dr. M. B. Rehman, Dr. U. M. Daudpota, W. Ivanow, Saif F. B. Tyabji, and Asaf A. A. Fyzee. The first of these is President of the Association, the others, with him, constitute the Executive Committee. The Agha Khan (a liberal benefactor to the Association) is its Patron, and Fellowship was conferred on twelve persons who have written on Islamic subjects, nine of them Europeans. The membership (open to "every person, regardless of sex, religion, or nationality", with an annual subscription of 3 rupees or 5s.) now stands at eighty-three, each year showing some increase.

The occasion for its foundation was the preparation by W. Ivanow of a number of works bearing on the Ismā'īlī sect, of which the Royal Asiatic Society published his valuable bibliography. The first four volumes issued by the Association all bear his name; they are all Persian texts reproduced by lithography, with Introductions and in two cases English translations; they were all very favourably reviewed by Professor Nicholson in this *Journal* for April, 1937. The Association has earned the gratitude of Islamic students and indeed of students of religion generally by publishing them.

The fifth volume is a treatise on Arab Navigation in Urdu by Sulaiman Nadwi of Lucknow, who is known to scholars as editor of the posthumous folios of Shibli Nu'man's Urdu Biography of the Prophet. The treatise is mainly historical and geographical, and gives in parallel columns passages from Arabic authors with Urdu translation. The author traverses M. Hartmann's assertion that the Muslims in general were afraid of the sea and unsuccessful in naval warfare.

Of the sixth volume, Dr. Arberry's edition of *The Book of Truthfulness* by al-Kharrāz, in Arabic with English translation, a review will shortly appear in this *Journal*.

Since the Association has been in existence for only a few years and its financial resources are at present very modest, this constitutes a fine record. In his Presidential Address delivered on 5th April, 1937, Mr. A. M. Mecklai gave an account of the origin, the aims, and the work of the institution, emphasizing its freedom from political and religious propaganda, and the care taken to follow the most approved methods of research, involving "patient, exhaustive, and critical examination of all relevant material". Its ideals being identical with those of our own Society, which deals with a much vaster field, we can only wish it continued success and extension.

Notices

On account of the summer vacation, it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September.

Members and subscribing libraries are reminded that, by Rule 24, the annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Secretary. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

By authority of the Council, the Library and Offices of the Society will be closed from 25th till 31st December, inclusive.

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

The first period during which MSS. may be submitted by competitors for publication in the above series, lately founded by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of Calcutta, will close on 31st December, 1938. Details are given in the loose sheet enclosed in this number of the *Journal*. They may also be obtained on application to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, 24 Grosvenor Street, W. 1.

Forthcoming Events

The Second Session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences will take place at Copenhagen, between 31st July and 6th August, 1938.

We offer our congratulations to Sir James G. Frazer, O.M., F.R.S., upon the honour bestowed upon him by the Greek Minister in London, on 26th May, 1938. The Diploma of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Athens was presented to him in recognition of his distinguished contributions to Greek classical learning. We also congratulate Prof. A. S. Tritton, M.A., D.Litt., upon his recent appointment to the post of Professor of Arabic in the University of London. He has been the Head of the Department of The Near and Middle East at the School of Oriental Studies for some time.

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Heras, H. A Proto-Indian Icon.
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Part III: Later Reports and a Statement of the Cost of the Embassy.[1]

EDITED BY EARL H PRITCHARD

(*Concluded from p 396*)

[Document No. 4]

LORD MACARTNEY'S SECOND REPORT TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY[2]

Canton, January 7th, 1794.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman,
of the Honorable East India Company.

Gentlemen,

In a letter which I had the honor of writing to Mr. Dundas Secretary of State in November [9–11th] last, I communicated to him my intention of convoying in the Lion, if necessary, your Ships of this Season to England and in my letter of last month,[3] I gave him my reasons why I suffered the five

[1] The editor is indebted to the India Office for kind permission, obtained through Mr. W. T. Ottewill, Superintendent of Records, to publish Documents Nos. 4, 5 and 6 to follow, and to Cornell University Library, Ithaca, New York, for a similar kind permission to publish Document No. 7, extended by Mr. Otto Kinkeldey, the Librarian.

[2] MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 439–440 and xciii, 245–6, of Part 3.

[3] Besides the letter of 9–11th November, 1793, to Dundas, Lord Macartney wrote two further letters to him, one on 23rd December, 1793, and one on 7th January, 1794. These letters are in MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 393–406 and 443–6, also xciii, 217–228 and 249–250 of Part 3. The necessity of convoying the Indiamen was of course caused by the outbreak of the war with France.

Ships which I found laden on my arrival at Canton to sail from thence without waiting for the remainder, which tho more in number, were represented as more in need of protection. I am confirmed in my resolution of accompanying the latter, by the accounts received within these few days, of the Enemy having been in force in the straits of Sunda, where one of your Ships the Princess Royal has been captured.[1] As this event must give you some alarm with regard to the safety of your homeward bound Ships now lying here, it will be some satisfaction to you to know that nothing shall prevent me from accompanying them in His Majesty's ship the Lion, whose force will, I trust, be sufficient for their protection.

The Vice-roy of Canton to whom I have given a full account of the hardships under which your trade as well as your agents labor here,[2] has already begun to take them under consideration. He has accordingly published two edicts for the general protection of Foreigners from the insults and impositions of the Natives.[3] He has agreed that our Ships shall not for the

[1] The five ships were allowed to depart without convoy to avoid demurrage charges and because they were heavily armed and probably capable of taking care of themselves. The *Princess Royal*, Indiaman, was captured off Anger Point, in the Straits of Sunda, between Java and Sumatra, in September, 1793, by three French ships. A small Country ship from India, the *Polly*, was captured by a French privateer in October (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 211).

[2] Two lists of grievances and requests for privileges were given by Lord Macartney to the new Viceroy, Ch'ang Lin 長麟, one on 20th November, 1793, the other on 1st January, 1794. The first is printed and the second is summarized in Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 252–4, and an abstract of both are given in Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 357, 362. The originals are found in MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xciii, 229–231, 253–263, of Part 3. The second document in particular is a long and reasoned statement of great importance.

[3] The edicts referred to were issued on 2nd and 5th January, 1794, and were for the most part hollow verbiage. The first threatened with dire punishment anyone who molested, plundered, annoyed, abused, or defrauded the English and was especially directed against persons who maintained night boats near the factories and by means of liquor and loose women inveigled foreigners into iniquities. The second prohibited extortion from Europeans by the magistrates, military, or other persons (MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 475–8, 483–6, and 513–14, 517–18).

future be exposed to the delay or danger of stopping in the open roads of Macao [1]; but may proceed immediately to the Island of Lintin [nearer Whampoa and in a less exposed position]; where they will be in safety; a point considered of material consequence, and among the objects I pressed upon him. He promises in every other instance, to grant whatever shall not be found inconsistent with the laws and customs of the Chinese.[2]

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most faithful humble servant

MACARTNEY.

[Document No. 5]

LORD MACARTNEY'S THIRD REPORT TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY [3]

Lion, *in the Channel*,
September 4th, 1794.

To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman,
of the Honorable East India Company.

Gentlemen,

Immediately on my arrival at Canton from Pekin in December last, I had the honor of addressing to you a sketch of my negotiations at that Court; referring you for a more circumstantial account to my dispatches for the Secretary of State, under whose immediate direction my mission was undertaken, as I did him to my letter to you for my proceedings,

[1] The ordinary procedure was for incoming ships to stop outside Macao, where pilots were obtained to take them on to Whampoa. It does not seem that the Viceroy's promise produced any essential change in procedure.

[2] The Viceroy's reply to Macartney's requests admitted abuses and oppressions, promised care and speed in prohibiting them, and promised "that so far as the Laws of China will permit, we shall be peculiarly desirous and ready to settle every thing to your entire Satisfaction". Nothing further was done (MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 467–8, 509).

[3] MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 487–9.

and observations in regard to your particular instructions to me [1]; thus desirous to spare, as much as possible, to each, in your mutual communications, the trouble of perusing the same things in my letters to both. From the same motive, I deemed it unnecessary to enumerate separately to you the prospects of public Advantage, that might have resulted from my protracting somewhat longer my stay in *Asia*, especially as the more pressing, and indeed immediately essential object of affording protection to the great embarked property of the Company, under the alarming circumstances of the Enemy lying in wait to seize it, had superseded every other consideration; and as the intelligence in the Indian Seas of the capture of two [2] outward bound ships in your employ, must have occasioned you no slight anxiety for the safety of those returning to Europe, I took the opportunity of assuring you, by a Swedish Ship [*Sophia Magdalena*], of my determination of accompanying them home in His Majesty's Ship the Lion, as their Convoy. And I now with much pleasure hasten to inform you that, not only the thirteen Ships, which left China with us, but [three] others from Bengal, and [two from] Bombay, that joined us at St. Helena, laden with Cargoes for the Company to the amount of several millions, are now safely arrived in the Channel. I postpone to the time of my being able to wait upon you in London, to relate to you the Steps I took, and the advances I made, at Canton, for putting your trade, and agents there on a footing very different from what has been hitherto experienced. The papers (No. 1 and 2) [3] which I addressed at different times to the Viceroy at Canton, explain perhaps more fully the extent of the hardships suffered there, than is contained in any former communication to you. The general answer of the Viceroy (No. 3) [4] and the copy of the two edicts (No. 4

[1] Macartney's last official report to Dundas was on 4th September, 1794, and is found in ibid., xcii, 281–5, of Part 3.

[2] See *supra*, page 494, note 1.

[3] See *supra*, page 494, note 2.

[4] See *supra*, page 495, note 2.

and 5)[1] immediately published by him, may enable you to form some idea of what may be expected from him; and his exalted character for justice, and benevolence adds much to the prospect. The Natives, indeed, in Office, and in Trade, are interested in deceiving him to the prejudice of Foreigners, and no slight efforts are required to be constantly exerted by the latter in their own defence. On this occasion, I must observe that your Commissioners at Canton appear to have conducted your Affairs, as far as I was concerned in them, with much prudence, and ability. I had the ready assistance of their advice, and information; and among other of their regulations likely to redound to the future prosperity of your trade there, They have encouraged in the Junior Servants a desire of acquiring a knowledge of the language of the Country,[2] without which your Agents will be always at the mercy of men [the Chinese linguists who spoke pidgin English] sufficiently inclined to impose upon them thro dishonesty, or to betray them thro fear. The exterior marks of respect shewn [*sic*] to the Embassy by order of the Emperor has had however already a good effect, in preventing the People of the Country from treating Englishmen, as formerly with contempt, and from considering them as objects of easy prey, and unpunishable insult.[3] The disposition of the Chinese is certainly become more favorable towards us, and it will be the interest of the Company to maintain and improve it.

(Signed) MACARTNEY.

[1] See *supra*, page 494, note 3.

[2] Prior to this time only two of the Company's servants, James Flint (in China from 1736 to 1762) and Thomas Bevan (in China from 1753 to 1780), had acquired any knowledge of Chinese. In 1792 the Secret and Superintending Committee, after some difficulty because of the prohibition upon the teaching of Chinese to foreigners, obtained a teacher, and three of the writers at the factory, Thomas Charles Pattle, John William Roberts, and John W. Travers began the study (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 209). None of these men progressed very far in their studies, and the Canton factory had to wait until the arrival in 1800 of George Thomas Staunton, who had begun his study of Chinese while accompanying his father on the Macartney Embassy, before it had a competent interpreter.

[3] Macartney here seems to be too optimistic.

[Document No. 6]

LETTER FROM LORD MACARTNEY TO SIR JOHN SHORE [1]

Macao, February [3], 1794.

To the Honorable Sir John Shore Bart.
Governor General of Bengal &ca. &ca.

Sir,

I make no doubt that you were made acquainted by His Majesty's Ministers before you left England with the occasion and object of my Embassy to this quarter of the World. I took also the opportunities which offered in the course of my voyage hither, to communicate the same to Lord Cornwallis, who was still then in the Government of Bengal.[2] Since that period I have been at the Court of the Emperor of China, whose reception was honorable, and gracious. And in consequence of his orders, two edicts have already been published at Canton for the redress of the grievances, under which our trade had hitherto labored there; and the Viceroy has promised, and seems disposed to grant every indulgence to our Merchants, which may be consistent with the laws, and customs of the Country.

A variety of circumstances has impeded, for the present the attainment of other objects in regard to opening new Channels for the introduction of British manufactures into every part of the Empire. The very great age of his Imperial Majesty tends to disincline his mind against suddenly giving way to novelties, or alterations of any kind. And the Government itself is become, of late, more than usually cautious, since they heard of the confusions in France, and of the attempts made by the Revolutionists there to disseminate

[1] This letter has been included here, although it is enclosure No. 3 in Macartney's letter of 4th September, 1794, to Henry Dundas, because it relates primarily to the carrying out of instructions given to Lord Macartney by the Company. It is found in MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xciii, 295–8.

[2] Sir John Shore succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General in October, 1793.

their principles every where else. These accounts have had such an effect in the first moments, as to induce the Mandarines to intercept the correspondence of all the European Missionaries at Pekin, tho no set of men can hold the late changes in greater horror, and by which, indeed, they are deprived of the annual stipends that had until then been regularly remitted to them. The Chinese Ministers could not, under such impressions, be much disposed to relax from their usual system of confining all mercantile connexions with the western world to a remote corner of their Empire. In addition to those circumstances, it seems likewise that the Commander of the Emperor's Troops in Thibet [Fu K'ang-an 福康安], on his return from thence, had misrepresented to his Imperial Majesty the procedure of the Bengal Government on his application against the Raja of Napaul, notwithstanding which, succours were said to be afforded to him.[1] While we were supposed to have given assistance to an Enemy of the Chinese, they could not be in the humour of granting to us any signal favors. Tho I was convinced the assertion was ungrounded, and denied it accordingly, yet I happened not to be possessed while at Pekin of the documents I have since lately received from Bengal, and England, which place the transaction in its true light, and prove the friendly disposition shewn [*sic*] by us on the occasion. This business, however, will be soon explained, I trust, to the satisfaction of the Emperor, and the advantage we took of our power in India, to render him service, can scarcely fail to remove the jealousy he might have been excited to entertain of it. Our political situation in Bengal may even contribute with other motives, to procure for us the full extension, we desire, of our commerce throughout the Empire.

It was thought likewise possible to form mercantile con-

[1] A complete account of this affair is given in Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, Being the Substance of Observations Made during a Mission in That Country in* 1793 (London, 1811), especially the Appendix.

nexions to advantage with other parts of the East,[1] for which places I was also honored with full powers of treating in case opportunities should be favorable; but as his Majesty's Ship the Lyon had orders to convey me out, and home, I think myself bound to avail myself of that circumstance, to accompany the principal fleet of the Company's ships this season from Canton, where no slight apprehensions are formed of their danger, if they attempted to proceed without a convoy; especially as intelligence has lately been received of the Enemy being in force in the Chinese, or Indian seas, and of the Princess Royal outward bound, having been captured in the Straits of Sunda. No service I conceive, can be more immediately important than that of guarding so much property belonging to the Company, as is now embarked here for England.

Beside the general instructions, which I received from His Majesty, thro one of His principal Secretaries of State, relative to my mission to China, several matters were particularly recommended to me by the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. Among others they observe that on many accounts it would be desirable to raise the tea plant within their own territories in India, for which purpose they request I should endeavour to procure, if possible, some of the plants, of the best kind, and to transmit them to Bengal, where it seems indeed that persons conversant in Agriculture were of opinion, that in the district of Rungpoor [Rangpur], the soil, and situation were fit for the cultivation of it. Fortunately the present Viceroy of Canton [Ch'ang Lin], as he travelled with me thro the Province of Chekiang to take possession of his new Government, led us thro places, where the tea grows to perfection, and very liberally allowed me to take up several young plants of the best kind, which I ordered to be put up in proper boxes, with earth, in which

[1] Macartney was given Credentials to the Emperor of Japan, the King of Cochin China, and blank Credentials to all other kings and princes of the East Indies (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, viii, No. 329; v, No. 210; and i, miscellaneous unnumbered Credentials).

they continue still to thrive. I have appointed Dr. [James] Dinwiddie,[1] a Gentleman of Science, who accompanied me to China, to take those plants to Calcutta, to be delivered to your orders, and as they are to be carried on board a Vessel, the Jackall, belonging to the Company, and commanded by a careful Officer (of the Bombay Marine) Mr. [John] Procter, I flatter myself they will arrive in good order and fit for the trial the Company wishes to make of them.[2] I take the same opportunity of sending some plants of the varnish tree, and the Tallow tree, both which as they are esteemed highly valuable in this Country, they may prove likewise beneficial in Bengal.

The Company having observed, that the silk of the Province of Nanking is superior to what is made in their own possessions, is desirous of finding out the causes of the difference in order to a discovery of what, if possible, may render their own equal to the Chinese. With this view a set of queries relative to the management of the silk mulberry tree in Nanking was put into my hands. The only answers I could as yet obtain

[1] According to W. J. Proudfoot's *Biographical Memoir of J. Dinwiddie*, mentioned in Part II of this paper, Dinwiddie was born 8th December, 1746, and died 19th March, 1815. He received his Master of Arts degree from the University of Edinburgh in January, 1778, and was granted the LL.D. degree by the same institution in 1792. While in India he delivered lectures on experimental philosophy at Calcutta under the patronage of the Governor-Generals, and was for a time employed in practical experimentation by the Board of Trade at Calcutta. He also lectured at Madras and was a teacher of mathematics in the College of Fort William from 1800 until his resignation in 1805. He departed for England in 1806 (see also *Catalogue of the Edinburgh Graduates* [Edinburgh, 1858], pp. 213, 259, and J. Dinwiddie, *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Experimental Philosophy* [London, 1789]).

[2] It appears that the tea plants reached India and were planted in the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, where other tea plants had been cultivated since 1780. In spite of the apparent interest of the Court of Directors in the commercial cultivation of the tea plant in India, as shown in the letter of instructions to Lord Macartney, "political and commercial objections connected with the company's highly profitable tea trade with China conspired to prevent the carrying out of" any such schemes (W. H. Ukers, *All About Tea* [New York, 1935], i, 134, 133). This is an interesting point and deserves further investigation.

I have given to Dr. Dinwiddie,[1] to be delivered to you, for the use of those, who are concerned in that manufacture in Bengal; and as some persons have suspected, that the insects which produce the silk in different Countries are not every where the same, I send by the Doctor also some of the Eggs of the China silk worm, which may ascertain that fact, as far as relates to India, and serve to propagate a new breed, if it should prove to be different from what is now reared there. As Dr. Dinwiddie is going upon the Public service, I have promised him that you will grant him whatever allowance you will think reasonable; and his services may not be confined to the care of the objects I have entrusted to him; for the Company having very liberally extended its views beyond mere commercial advantages, had, I understand, maintained an Astronomer in Bengal, who is now deceased[2]; his loss may be supplied by Dr. Dinwiddie, who is indeed considered as conversant with several other branches of science connected with the mathematics; his attention, indeed, to the very curious, and complicated machines, I brought from England, which required to be properly put together, after they were brought on shore, prevented him from attending me to the Emperor's Court at Gehol in Tartary, where his Imperial Majesty always spends the summer season. I have supplied the Doctor with several instruments belonging to the Company, agreeably to the inclosed list,[3] the amount of which may be deducted

[1] For a list of these questions with answers to them see MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, ix, No. 379. The answers relate to the culture of the mulberry tree. No answers relating to the silk-worms were obtained. See also *infra*, page 507, note 3.

[2] Probably Reuben Burrow (1747–1792), an astronomer and mathematician who went to India in 1782 and was appointed to teach mathematics to the Engineers, and on the Survey of Bengal. He was an early member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and contributed eleven papers on Hindu mathematics and astronomy to the Society and to *Asiatic Researches* (Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*).

[3] The articles given to Dr. Dinwiddie, valued at £279, included a pile driver, a small steam engine, several silk reeling machines, several pumps,

from his salary, or allowances. I take the liberty to recommend him to you as a man of learning and merit.

I have the honor to be &ca. &ca.

(Signed) MACARTNEY.

P.S.—You will please to pay Lieutenant Procter a reasonable allowance for Dr. Dinwiddie's passage.

[Document No. 7]

LORD MACARTNEY'S FOURTH REPORT TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY [1]

Curzon Street
November 26th, 1794.

Wm. Devaynes Esq., Chairman
of the East India Company.

Sir,

I received from Mr. Inglis the Extract you were pleased to send me from the proceedings of the Secret and Superintending Committee of Supercargoes at Canton, dated the 3rd of February last.[2] As it contains a list of articles which

an electrical machine, an artificial eye, some lamps, a theodolite, several microscopes, a camera, a magic lantern, a number of electrical and mathematical instruments, an assortment of chemical supplies, and various other items (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, x, No. 422).

[1] MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, vii, No. 312, and MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xcii, 529–532. William Devaynes became Chairman of the Court of Directors in the spring of 1794. The letter in the Cornell manuscript is unsigned.

[2] At Canton on 28th December, 1793, Lord Macartney gave to Henry Browne, Eyles Irwin, and William Jackson a long list of products which he thought could be sold to advantage in North China. The list included bronze figures, agates and bloodstones, Derbyshire globes, green serpentine stones, Gill's sword blades, firelocks, writing paper, girdle buckles, saddles, whip-lashes, knives, forks and spoons, brushes, snuffers, combs, nut-crackers, scissors, pocket knives, files, toys, necklaces and earrings, looking glasses and plate glass, Virginia cloths, fleecy hosiery, and garters. In their proceedings for 3rd February, 1794, the Secret and Superintending Committee recorded that Shy Kinqua and Mowqua, two of the leading Hong Merchants, were sceptical as to the market value of the articles. Shy Kinqua, however, promised to attempt to dispose of small trial shipments by sending them

I delivered to the Supercargoes, as what in my opinion might be introduced with advantage at Pekin, and their consequent recommendation to the Court of Directors, to send Specimens of such goods to China, their recommendation accompanied however with a declaration that those Articles appeared to them better calculated for the speculation of the Individual Trader than for the extensive Scale of the honorable Company's Investment. The intention of communicating this Extract to me, was no doubt either to be informed whether I persevered in my former opinion on this Subject, or whether I agreed with the suggestion of the Supercargoes, or lastly how soon I should think it advisable to make the experiment of sending out the Specimens alluded to, and I thought it possible that a specific question might be put to me in writing, to which an answer would be expected from me, but in order to lose no time, I shall freely mention to you at once whatever occurs to my mind at present on these points.

I certainly still think, that the Articles I had specified and indeed others of British Manufacture might be introduced with advantage at Pekin, and in most other parts of the Chinese Empire. Its Inhabitants however wedded to their ancient manners and opinions, did not appear to me to entertain any particular predilection for articles of consumption on account of being produced or prepared in their

to North China under the direction of one of his men. The Committee therefore recommended that specimens of these articles be sent to China, but expressed the view that such articles were better adapted to Private trade than to the Company's trade (MSS Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, VII, No. 322). Mr. Inglis was presumably a secretary at the India House. The Hong merchant Shy Kinqua mentioned here is the son, Gonqua, of the merchant mentioned in Part I of this article. As business was carried on in his father's name, he too was known as Shih Chung-ho 石中和, and was proprietor of the *Erh-i hang* 而益行. Mowqua became a Hongist in 1792. His official name was Lu Kuan-hêng 盧觀恆, his business name, Lu Mao-kuan 盧茂官, and the name of his Hong was *Kuang-li* 廣利. See Liang Chia-pin 梁嘉彬, *Kuang-tung Shih-san Hang K'ao* 廣東十三行考, pp. 216, 218, 284–7, 302–7.

own Country, but on the contrary seemed quick enough in finding out any superior quality or convenience in goods, presented to them from abroad, and equally eager to possess them. It is, however, to be observed peculiarly of China, as indeed in some degree of most other Countries, that it supplies to the natives in abundance all the real necessaries, and most of the luxuries of life, and therefore that foreign Goods are so far superfluous among them until new wants shall be excited in their minds by the display of somewhat more convenient or more pleasing than what they had hitherto enjoyed, and in this sense every foreign Trade may be considered as in some measure forced, requiring consequently no slight degree of management, patience and zealous attention to push it on, as the history and gradual progress of the Company's trade hitherto to China has sufficiently evinced.

Whether the Articles I have specified be introduced into China as part of the Honorable Company's Investment, or by the Individual Trader, does not, in a national consideration, appear to be of material importance, provided the amount be the same. But that any trade cannot be carried on with China to great extent by Individuals is among the causes which have occasioned the Establishment and continuance of the Company. The case applies much stronger when relating to the introduction of new Articles, in which the risk is certainly the greater, and which requires not only the friends and advances, but also the influence with the Natives of a great and united body. The Natives will scarcely purchase from Individuals except what is already in demand; nor can afford to make the speedy payments necessary to private traders in return for goods to be sent on speculation above a thousand miles. Individuals ought certainly to be allowed to deal in those Articles in concurrence with the Company, as they are allowed to deal in Teas in the returning Cargoes, and in proportion as the means which the Company alone possesses, shall have procured a vent for such Commodities, Individuals will partake in the Trade, thus gaining

instead of loosing by the part which the Company shall have taken in it. The objects themselves indeed might have appeared too minute and insignificant to the Supercargoes, and thus unworthy the notice of a great commercial body, and so they certainly will be while confined to the small quantity of them which Individuals can contrive to introduce, or even to what the Company can effect in the beginning; but no Article continues to be trifling, for which millions of consumers may gradually as in China be procured; and Scissars [*sic*] or Snuffers may like the cuttings or shreds of cloth,[1] be found in future fit to enter into the Company's Investment; much of the success may depend however on the time and manner of making the experiment. The Hong Merchants at Canton satisfied with the Trade already in their hand, will not naturally be forward in embarking in new enterprizes, for which they must take new measures and precautions. Among many Articles some will turn out not suitable, and others will be long on hand. These Merchants will certainly be little anxious unless they find your Agents particularly and heartily urgent with them on the occasion. A mere and cold acquittal of duty on the part of your Agents, recommending to the Hong Merchants to take and spread those Articles, as they do to you to send them out, does not promise much effect; and while the Supercargoes continue in opinion that such goods should be left to the Speculation of the individual Trader, it may be difficult for them to express sentiments of a contrary nature to the Hong Merchants, or to inspire them with all the zeal which may be necessary to overcome the difficulties and hazards of such undertakings. I cannot therefore be sanguine in proposing the experiment to be made, until your Agents shall be brought to think as favorably of the prospect as I do.[2]

I have the honor to be with
great consideration
Sir, MACARTNEY.

(For notes 1 and 2 see p. 507.)

P.S.—I have the honor to send you such answers as I could obtain to the Queries relative to Silk,[3] which I was desired to make in China by the Chairman & deputy Chairman in their letter of the 8th of September, 1792.

[Document No. 8]

COST OF THE MACARTNEY EMBASSY[4]

No detailed account of the cost of the Macartney Embassy has been published, although John Barrow in his *Life . . . of the Earl*

[1] Considerable quantities of cloth cuttings were imported in Private trade (Pritchard, op. cit., p. 171).

[2] An experimental shipment of Irish linens in 1794–5 was disposed of at invoice cost (£845), and in 1795–6, as a result of Lord Macartney's recommendations, Irish linens invoiced at £589, stationery invoiced at £276, and sword blades valued at £248 arrived at Canton. Mowqua sent the linens to Manila at two-thirds prime cost because there was no market for them in China. Puankhequa sent one case of stationery to Peking as an experiment, but the Chinese merchants in general insisted that it could be used only as presents. No merchant would touch the sword blades because they could be used only as presents, and they were finally sent back to Europe (Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 153, 256, 266–7). Puankhequa was the son of Puankhequa (P'an Wen-yen 潘文巖) who died in 1788. He at times may have been known by his father's name, but his official name appears to have been P'an Chih-hsiang 潘致祥, his business name, the same as his father's, was P'an Ch'i-kuan 潘啓官, and the Hong name was *T'ung-wen* 同文. See Liang Chia-pin, op. cit., pp. 218, 280, 259–273, 286–8.

[3] See *supra*, page 502, note 1. The answers obtained contained the following information: that there were two species of the mulberry tree, one of which bore white, the other black berries, and that the tree bearing white berries was preferable; that the first leaves to sprout were better for the silkworm; that young leaves were given to young worms and mature leaves to full-grown worms, that mulberry trees were planted in the spring; that leaves first appeared in the spring and then two or three times later in the year; that the leaves were sold to persons in the cities who reared the worms; that mulberry trees thrived better on dry soil than did rice; and that no leaves other than those of the mulberry tree were fed to the silkworm (MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, ix, No. 379).

[4] MSS. Cornell, *Macartney Correspondence*, Nos. 92, 131, 144, 177, 180, 185, 188, 219, 221, 243–8, 290, 307, 343, 345, 347, 349, 354, 395, 411, 422, 436a, 437, 442; MSS. India Office, *China: Macartney Embassy*, xci, 543–590, and xcii, 5–6, 9, 15–18, 23–4, 521, and xciii, 48, 219, 264–270, 280, 603–619; Morse, *Chronicles*, ii, 205, 216, 223, 255–6; Pritchard, op. cit., pp. 291, 294–5, 303–6; and especially Document No. 1 of this paper.

of Macartney (i, 353–4), states that it cost about £80,000. From various papers remaining in the India Office and the Wason Collection at Cornell it is possible to calculate the approximate cost of the mission.

SOURCE OF FUNDS

		£
Presents from the Cathcart Embassy		2,394
Grant of credit from the Directors on 19th January and 8th August, 1792		30,000
Spent beyond grant of credit before leaving London . .		809
Bills on the Court at Portsmouth (£800 less £35 refunded), September, 1792		765
Gained on exchange of $20,000 purchased for £4,547 .		453
Bills on the Court of Directors at Madeira Islands, October, 1792		950
Gross funds provided by the Commissioners at Canton . .		16,933
Cash to Lord Macartney	£1,200	
Bills drawn by Macartney on the Commissioners	£4,823	
Cost of the ship *Iphigenia* ($10,500)	£2,625	
Supplies and services	£8,285	
Total	£16,933	
Less property returned to Commissioners	£6,583	
Net expense at Canton (T. 31,050) .	£10,350	
Cash given to Lord Macartney at Portsmouth, September, 1794		7,278
Instalments on Lord Macartney's salary not advanced .		23,000
Instalments on Sir George Leonard Staunton's salary . .		6,000
Court's vote of an Honorarium to Staunton, 5th August, 1795		3,000
Court's grant to Messrs. Cobb and Malben, November, 1792, and April, 1793		350
Court's grant to officers of *Hindostan*, 15th April, 1795, about		300
Total gross funds		92,241

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS

Presents bought in London including present to Viceroy .	15,953
Other miscellaneous expense in London	2,100
Staunton's expense in Italy in search of interpreters . .	960
Cost of the *Jackall*	1,500
Expenses in Portsmouth, September, 1792 . . .	750
Presents purchased by Lord Macartney in China . . .	3,582

Cost of the *Clarence* purchased by Lord Macartney ($5,000) .		1,250
Current expense during the Embassy		5,510
Cost of the *Iphigenia* purchased by the Commissioners ($10,500)		2,625
Telescope, services, and supplies purchased by Commissioners		8,285
Lord Macartney's total salary		30,000
Sir George Leonard Staunton's salary . . .		6,000
Honorarium to Staunton		3,000
Salary of the civil suite . . .		7,160
Salary of the guard		2,041
Sir Erasmus Gower's salary		583
Salary of the officers of the *Lion*		292
Remuneration to Messrs Cobb and Malben		350
Remuneration to the officers of the *Hindostan*, about .		300
Total gross expense . . .		92,241
Deduct resources remaining at the end of the Embassy .		13,719
Value of presents returned to Commissioners at Canton . .	£4,333	
Sales value of *Iphigenia* at Canton ($6,000) . . .	£1,500	
Sales value of *Clarence* at Canton ($3,000)	£750	
Estimated sales value of the *Jackall* in India	£1,000	
Supplies given to Dr Dinwiddie at Canton	£279	
Amount refunded on carriages in London	£372	
Value of wine returned	£370	
Duties refunded on *Hindostan* at Canton in 1794–5	£5,115	
Total resources remaining .	£13,719	
Net expense of the Embassy to the East India Company .		78,522

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The Pargana Headman (Chaudhrī) in the Mogul Empire

By W. H. MORELAND

(PLATE V.)

CASUAL references in the chronicles of the time show that the Turkish kings of Delhi recognized, and on occasion utilized, the local functionaries—the headmen and registrar-accountants of villages and parganas—who formed an integral part of the Hindu administrative system. No references to these functionaries have been traced under the Afghan kings, but they reappear in the Mogul period, the literature of which enables us to form some idea of the position and duties, as then understood, of three out of the four. The village headman, renamed *muqaddam*, represented the village in its dealings with the officials, and he was required in particular to be active in agricultural development by bringing the waste land of the village under the plough. The village registrar-accountant, who retained his Hindī name of *paṭwārī*, kept the records and accounts of the village, and was required to assist the officials in the assessment and collection of the revenue. In the same way the registrar-accountant of the pargana, renamed *qānūngo,* kept the records of the pargana; and when assessment was made on the village as a unit, his estimate of its capacity to pay was one of the indispensable data. The remaining functionary, the *chaudhrī*[1] or headman of the pargana, scarcely appears in the chronicles of the period, while the administrative literature contains practically nothing to show what he was expected to do, or how he was remunerated; indeed the only refer ·ce to him which has

[1] To prevent misapprehension, it may b
has other meanings in towns and market
as an honorific prefix to a person's na

been traced in the *Āīn-i Akbarī* is the statement (Jarrett, ii, 228) that in the province of Berār the *chaudhrī* was known as *desmukh*. This statement shows that the *chaudhrī* was a familiar figure in the north, but it shows nothing more.

The gap in our knowledge can be filled to some extent from some documents preserved in the Revenue Office of the State of Hyderabad, photographs of which have reached me through the good offices of Sir Reginald Glancy, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. These documents may be described briefly as follows :—

A. *Parwāna*, dated A.H. 1027, 13th regnal year (of Jahāngīr). Invocation (*Allāhu akbar*) at top; seal in margin, opposite the second line. The seal is blurred and partly damaged, and the grantor cannot be identified; presumably he was either the viceroy or the provincial dīwān. The reverse of the document has the names of the villages concerned. Recites that the *desājī*[1] and *desmukh* of pargana Pāthrī had "come to service" (*ba malāzamat āmad*), and that his loyalty had been established; grants an addition of ten *chāwar* of waste land to his existing *in'ām* or holding of land free of revenue; and orders the local officials to give him possession free of all demands for revenue.

Pāthrī (Jarrett, ii, 236, and *Imperial Gazetteer*, xx, 30) lay on the road from Daulatābād to Golconda, and comparison of the diaries kept by two well-known Dutchmen, van Ravesteyn (printed as App. V of Terpstra's *Opkomst der Wester-Kwartieren*), and van den Broeke (Leiden University MS.), shows that the Moguls captured it from Malik Ambar in 1616–17, so that this grant to the *desmukh* of their new acquisition may be taken as a result of his adhesion to the conquerors. The word *chāwar* has not been found in Persian, Hindī, or Marāṭhī dictionaries, but Sir Henry Elliot (*Supplemental Glossary*, ed [illegible] eames, ii, 304) equated it to *chau-har*, [illegible] four times. In the *parwāna* it is

[illegible] traced, and is perhaps an error for *desāī*, [illegible] gana headman.





CIPHERS AND SEALS ON NISHANS.

B (above). Cipher of Shāh Jahān . cipher and seal of Murād Bakhsh.

C (below). Cipher of Shāh Jahān cipher and seal of Aurangzīb.

[To face p 513]

obviously a unit of area, and may be referred to the *har*, or "plough-land", which is still known as a unit in the central parts of India. The size of this unit naturally varies with the soil, but it may be thought of as ranging about 12 acres, and a "four-plough-land", the next higher unit in a scale mounting by fours, would thus be about 50 acres, making the grant some 500 acres in all.

B. *Nishān*, dated A.H. 1059, 23rd regnal year (of Shāh Jahān). Invocation (the *bismillāh* formula) at top: then two ciphers (*tughrā*). The upper and larger cipher is that of Shāh Jahān; the lower and smaller one is of Prince Murād Bakhsh, whose seal is on the right. On the reverse is a blurred seal (not deciphered) and an office endorsement.

Settles the succession as *desmukh* of the division (*taraf*) of Amwal in pargana Bālgarh, Sūba Telingāna; the viceroy had allowed an adoptive son a half-share, but the emperor overruled this, and accepted the natural son as sole *desmukh*. Orders the local officials to recognize him, and reminds him of the duties he has to perform.

No Bālgarh, and no Amwal, is mentioned in this part of the country in the *Āīn* or the *Imperial Gazetteer*; the reference may be to Balgaon or Walgaon, now in the Amraoti district (*Impl. Gaz.*, xxiv, 352), or to Bālapur in Akola (vi, 234).

C. *Nishān*, dated 19th regnal year (of Shāh Jahān). Invocation (*Allāhu akbar*) at top; then two ciphers as in B, that of Shāh Jahān above, and that of Prince Aurangzīb below, with his seal to the right. On the reverse are some endorsements and a seal (not deciphered).

Recites that the son of the late *desmukh* of pargana Pāthrī has given an engagement of loyalty; orders the local authorities and the inhabitants in general to accept him as *desmukh*, and reminds him of his duties.

D. *Farmān*, dated 30th regnal year (of Aurangzīb). Invocation (the *bismillāh* formula) at top; below it a cipher, and below it the square seal of ʿĀlamgīr (Aurangzīb).

The cipher contains, not the emperor's style, but a verse from the Qur'ān, which Professor Margoliouth has identified as Sūrah iv, 62; "O ye that believe, obey Allāh and obey the Apostle and those in authority among you." The change from *tughrā* to text is in accordance with Aurangzīb's well-known character.

Makes an appointment as *desmukh* of pargana Narsī, sarkār Bāsim, Sūba Berār, reminds the *desmukh* of his duties, and orders the local officials to recognize him. Pargana Narsī is mentioned in the *Āīn* (Jarrett, ii, 235).

E. *Farmān*, dated 5th regnal year. Invocation (the *bismillāh* formula) at top; below it a cipher, with round seal to the right. The cipher appears to be a text, but has not been read. The seal too is illegible, and it is uncertain whether the document was issued by Aurangzīb or by one of his successors. The latter alternative is suggested by the description of Aurangābād as *Khujasta-bunyād*; for Sir Richard Burn informs me that this description appears on coins only from the year A.H. 1100, which is long after Aurangzīb's fifth year. Probably then the *farmān* was issued by Bahādur Shāh or Farrukh-siyar.

Recites that pargana Pāthrī (above) had been divided between two *desmukhs* by Khān Khānān 'Abdur-raḥīm when he held it in *jāgīr*, that this arrangement had continued in force, and that the present holder of one portion had offered a *peshkash* (gift) of Rs. 2000 for a *farmān* confirming the partition; confirms it, enumerates the duties, and orders the local officials to comply, and to collect the *peshkash*.

These documents are of three kinds: *farmān*, *nishān*, and *parwāna*. A *farmān* was an order issued by the emperor, and ordinarily bore at the top the imperial cipher (*tughrā*) with the emperor's seal usually to its right, though in D it is below; the first and second lines were written short, the words in them occupying from one-half to one-third of

the full space. No definition of *nishān* has been found in the official literature, but the English records show[1] that the word was used consistently to denote an order issued by a prince holding an executive position such as viceroy, while *parwāna* was applied to an order issued by an executive officer other than a prince.

Document A, the *parwāna*, is plain script, with no cipher, all the lines of equal length, and the seal in the right margin opposite the second line. The *nishāns* (B and C) are in the same form as the *farmān*, with two short lines, but they have two ciphers, the emperor's above and the prince's below, the latter being somewhat smaller than the former. The article on these *ṭughrā*-ciphers in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* does not deal with Mogul practice, and it will therefore be useful to reproduce the upper portions of these two *nishāns*, showing the ciphers and seals, with the first, shortened, line of the text (see Plate).

The upper and larger *ṭughrā* in each specimen is that of the emperor; beginning in the south-east corner, it reads: *Ba farmān Abū'l Muẓaffar Shihābuddīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Qirān Sānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī*; and this agrees with the form of *ṭughrā* given in the *Bādshāhnāma* (*Bibl. Ind.*, i, 91).

The smaller *ṭughrā* in B is that of Prince Murād Bakhsh, and reads: *Nishān 'ālīshān Sulṭān Shāhzāda Murād Bakhsh.* The round seal to the right reads (from the bottom up): *Murād Bakhsh ibn Shihābuddīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Qirān Sānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī san* 10 ? ?, the last two digits of the year being illegible.

The smaller *ṭughrā* in C has not been completely deciphered, but it is clearly that of Prince Aurangzīb. The pear-shaped seal to the right is read by Mr. C. N. Seddon as a couplet:—

Az 'ināyāt-i khudā Aurangzīb andar jahān
Hast farzand ū murīd-i ṡānī Ṣāḥib Qirān.

[1] See the index entries in the first twelve volumes of *The English Factories in India* (Oxford, 1906–1927).

Turning now from form to substance, it will be seen that these documents relate only to the southern provinces of the empire, and to functionaries described as *desmukh*; but the equation of this term to *chaudhrī* in the *Āīn* justifies the inference that the Mogul administration regarded the *desmukh* in the south as equivalent to the *chaudhrī* in the north, and the stock phrases which recur in the documents may reasonably be taken as applying to pargana headmen throughout the empire. On this view we may describe the headman's position, emoluments, and obligations as follows.

Position.—Four of the five documents (B, C, D, E) recognize implicitly that the position was hereditary, and two of them (B, E) show that under the Hindu law of inheritance it might be held jointly by co-heirs, but in one of these (B) Shāh Jahān ruled that adoption gave no title to succeed. Succession was not, however, automatic, for a claimant had to secure recognition by the authorities, and three of the documents (B, C, E) mention an engagement (*'ahd*, *ta'ahhud*), which was presumably a written undertaking. The charge was not invariable, for document E recites that an assignee had partitioned a pargana among the joint holders, and confirms the separate charge given to one of them.

Emoluments.—On recognition the headman became entitled to remuneration in two forms. First, there was a grant of land free of revenue, which was described as *in'ām*. Document A shows that this could be increased by the authorities, and the general practice of the empire suggests that it could also be diminished. The word *in'ām* however, covered allowances in cash as well as grants of land, and a document in the possession of Sir Richard Burn shows that in the reign of Aurangzīb the *chaudhrī* of Sandīla in Oudh was allowed Rs. 500 as a deduction from the land-revenue due from him, that this allowance was reduced to Rs. 200, and that later on it was restored to the original figure. We may take it then that the *chaudhrī* was dependent on the officials for this part of his remuneration. The other part consisted of fees.

The documents do not show the amount of these fees, or who paid them, but the phrase "according to the ancient practice (*m'amūl-i qadīm*) of the pargana", which occurs in C and E, suggests that practice may have varied with the locality, while the prohibition of innovations and exactions (C, D, E) indicates that there was a natural tendency to increase these customary demands.

Against this remuneration must be set a possible liability to pay a gift (*peshkash*) into the treasury. This liability is mentioned only in document E, which recites that the *desmukh* who desired formal confirmation of the partition of the charge had bound himself to pay Rs. 2,000 in addition to the existing *peshkash*, and it requires him to pay into the provincial treasury not only that sum, but the *tatimma* of the former *peshkash*. The force of *tatimma* is uncertain, but the most probable meaning here seems to be "balance", indicating that the former *peshkash* had not been paid in full. It is certain then that at this time liability to such payments existed in this particular pargana, but the evidence does not suffice to establish its generality, and the conjecture may be hazarded that this document reflects the financial stringency characteristic of the later days of the empire. The partition which was confirmed dated from the reign of Jahāngīr, for Khān Khānān 'Abdurraḥīm, who made it, died in 1626–7; the fact that, nearly a century later, it was confirmed in return for a substantial payment suggests that some keen-eyed official had detected the irregularity which had passed unnoticed for so long, and had taken the opportunity to levy something for the treasury. On this view, there would not be justification for inferring that substantial gifts were part of the regular system, though doubtless formal presents (*nazr*) were made periodically.

Obligations.—The primary obligation was loyalty (*daulat-khwāhī*). Apart from it we have reference to various functions, some of them executive, the others concerned more specifically with the land-revenue.

The executive functions were twofold, extension of cultivation, and protection and encouragement of the peasants. Stress is laid on the first of these in all the four documents which refer to functions; and, seeing that the village headman was held responsible for extension within the village, we may infer that the *chaudhrī* was expected to operate over a wider area, and distribute the peasants of his pargana, besides attracting peasants from outside, so that the waste land might be rendered productive. Encouragement and protection of peasants likewise appears in all the documents, though in varying phrases; and in one case (D) we find the additional duty of dealing effectively with bad characters (*mufsidān wa mutamarridān*). The *chaudhrī* thus stands out as an important agent in securing an approach to the Mogul ideal of an empire fully cultivated by a contented peasantry protected from evil-doers.

On the other hand, there are no general orders regarding the *chaudhrī's* revenue duties. One document (B) reminds him of his functions in regard to the collection of the land-revenue, but does not say what he had to do; and another (E) requires him to see that no item of revenue remains concealed. We may reasonably assume that these injunctions are general, and that the *chaudhrī* was expected to assist with his local knowledge the salaried revenue staff. There is only one reference to anything that can be called clerical work; in E the *chaudhrī* of a portion of pargana Pāthrī was required to file annually the *taqsīm-i manf'i* or "apportionment of profits" of the villages in his charge. The name of this record has not been found elsewhere, and its nature is matter for conjecture; the most probable view is that we have here the Persian term for the annual estimate of the revenue due from a pargana, which was usually known by its Hindī name, *ḍaul*.

It is not easy to bring the *chaudhrī* of Mogul times into relation with the shadowy figure we meet in the earliest

British records, and in order to do so we must assume that his position was materially affected by the anarchy of the eighteenth century, when a strong *chaudhrī* would naturally emerge as a *taluqdār* (in the contemporary sense), and the weak ones would atrophy. In Bengal, the Amini Report of 1778 described the *chaudhrī* as merely a smaller *zamīndār* (in the Bengal sense of the word). In Benares, Jonathan Duncan wrote of the *chaudhrīs* in 1788 as "a kind of revenue officers somewhat similar to the canoongoes", and as being "in a most forlorn condition, having for many years past had little more than a nominal official authority, and many of them had no settled allowances whatever". Duncan assigned them no place in his general scheme of administration, but one case is recorded where a *chaudhrī's ḍaul*, or estimate of the revenue, was used as a check on the *qānūngo*. The early records of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces show only that *chaudhrīs* were known, and had in some cases set up as *taluqdārs*, but here, too, no use was made of them in the administration. In the Delhi territory the position was similar. In the rest of the Punjab the *chaudhrī* appears to have functioned as a collector of revenue under the Sikh government, but he was practically ignored by the early British administration, though something like him was subsequently re-created in the person of the *zaildār*.[1]

The fullest account of the *chaudhrī's* position just before annexation is contained in the reconstruction of the administration of Oudh offered by Mr. (later Sir Charles) Elliott in

[1] The authorities on which this paragraph is based are as follows. For Bengal, the Amini Report, pp. 103–110, as reproduced in R. B. Ramsbotham's *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal* (Oxford, 1926). For Benares, *Selections from the Duncan Records* (Benares, 1873), especially p. 41 and Appendix xxix. For the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, *Selections from the Revenue Records of the North-West Provinces*, 1818–1820 (Calcutta, 1866) and 1822–1833 (Allahabad, 1872). For Delhi, *Records of the Delhi Residency and Agency* (Lahore, 1911). For the Punjab, R. Cust, *Revenue Manual* (Lahore, 1866), p. 62; and H. K. Trevaskis, *The Land of the Five Rivers* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 180, 257.

chapter v of the *Chronicles of Oonao* (Allahabad, 1862).[1] "No material differences existed between the work done by the *qānūngo* and *chaudhrī*, but the former appointment was always held by one of the kāyasth class, the latter was generally given to the chief *zamīndār* of the pargana. Occasionally, where there were rival *zamīndārs*, the appointment was used to give political influence to a Muhammadan over a Hindu, or a subservient man over one more independent, but as a general rule the most important and respectable families in each pargana seem to have held it. There is no instance in the Unao district where the title has been taken from one family and given to another . . . There can be no doubt that the original[2] intention of the double appointments was that one should be a check on the other . . . In the course of time the *qānūngos*, taking advantage of their opportunities for cajoling or frightening the villagers, and supported by the *Āmil's* [Collector's] influence, managed to become landholders themselves, and thus they broke down the separation which existed between them and the *chaudhrīs*. The latter, at the same time, not being bred to the study of accounts, as the *qānūngos* were, and taking greater interest in their work as landowners than as Government officials, gradually dropped their attendance at the *Āmil's* court, and left the *qānūngos* in undisputed authority . . .

"The duties of the *qānūngo* and *chaudhrī* lay entirely on the revenue side, and almost all work of this kind passed through their hands. They may be said to have been the Settlement Officers for the pargana, for every year they laid before the *Āmil* the *daul* or taxation register in which they recorded the sum which in their opinion each landowner ought to pay. This register was generally accepted without demur, but if the *Āmil* insisted on a higher total of revenue,

[1] The quotations are from pp. 112, 113. I have modernized the spelling of Indian words.

[2] The word "original" is, I think, incorrect. Originally the two offices were complementary, one executive and the other clerical; and the assimilation of their positions described by Elliott is a later stage.

it then fell to these officials to distribute to each village its quota of the whole. They also, assisted by some clerks in the *Āmil's* office, kept the accounts of collection, reported any default or evasion of payment, and superintended the carrying out of the *Āmil's* orders respecting distraint or any other mode of recovering the balance due. They investigated the claims to succession of the heirs of a landowner, and their yearly books were the sole records of past possession and of former collections, from which there was no appeal."

It will be gathered from what has been said above that while the executive functions of the *chaudhrī* had disappeared, his connection with the revenue had for a time been emphasized, for Duncan's employment of a *chaudhrī's* figures to check those of the *qānūngo* squares with the position which had developed in Oudh. A probable explanation of this development is the change in methods of assessment which took place in the seventeenth century. Akbar assessed each peasant separately, and then the *qānūngo's* importance was not great; but after the change to assessment on the village as a unit, his records of the past and present condition of each village in his pargana became indispensable to the assessors, and it is easy to suppose, though precise evidence is wanting, that he was considered to be too powerful, and that the *chaudhrī* was required to furnish independent information, so that each might be a check on the other. The paucity of English references, however, must be taken to show that the men of the pen more than held their own against the executive functionaries.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge the generous help I have received from Sir Richard Burn, Professor Margoliouth, and Dr. A. J. Arberry in deciphering the *ṭughrās* on these documents, which, as the specimens reproduced in the Plate will show, are entirely beyond the scope of the ordinary reader.

375.

The Date of the Hsia Calendar *Hsia Hsiao Chêng*

By HERBERT CHATLEY, D.Sc.

IN a well-known collection of ritual notes, the *Ta Tai Li* 大戴禮 (*The Rites of the Elder Tai*), considered to be earlier than the Han period (206 B.C.), there is a calendar section (No. 47), termed *Hsia Hsiao Chêng* 夏小正 (*The Lesser Canon of the Hsia*), which is traditionally regarded as a true relic of the Hsia dynasty (about 2000 B.C.). It was translated by Professor R. K. Douglas (*Orientalia Antiqua*, 1882) and was regarded by him and some other students as of great antiquity. On the other hand, it is very difficult to understand, in the light of modern discoveries as to the Shang culture (*circa* 1200 B.C.), how such a document could have been produced in 2000 B.C., and the more conservative students are unwilling to admit that it can be much older than, say, 500 B.C.

The document is practically a farmer's calendar, but it includes comments on weather, the stars, animal and vegetable life, all arranged under the twelve moons of the year. The style is very terse, but includes explanatory remarks which seem to indicate that it has absorbed a brief commentary into the text.

It is the object of the following notes to discuss the astronomical content of this calendar and hence the date of its composition. The latter can be deduced to a certain extent by the shift of the star positions at a given time of day on a given day of the year, due to the precession of the equinoxes resulting from the earth's third rotation (about the axis of the ecliptic once in 26,000 years).

The botanical and zoological matters it contains (e.g. in the eleventh moon the words "stags' antlers fall") cannot, of course, serve to date it, but do fix the position of its months in the tropical or climatic year. There is, however, no doubt

about the latter from an astronomical point of view. Although the calendar refers to "moons" 月 (the customary Chinese *civil reckoning being by lunations) it is definitely a tropical* one with the winter solstice (23rd December, Gregorian style) in the eleventh moon. Hence a reference to a particular *moon must only be taken as relating to the average position* of that lunation in the tropical year, maintained by the intercalation every two or three years of an extra moon. Since a "moon" is slightly over 29½ days and a "month" is slightly over 30½ days, in any one particular year a particular moon may shift backwards or forwards from the average position by an amount less than fifteen days. This would seem to introduce an uncertainty of over 1,000 years in the precessional dating, but it seems clear that the calendar refers definitely to the average position, and hence for the purpose of comparison it is not necessary to consider the lunation as distinguished from one-twelfth of the tropical year.

The essential arrangement of the Hsia calendar, which was officially adopted for civil reckonings in 104 B.C. in the Han dynasty and remained (with short interruptions) in use as a standard in China until A.D. 1927, was that the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth moons should inaugurate the four seasons and that the second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh moons should contain (more or less centrally) the equinoxes and solstices. It should be remarked that what the Greek and modern astronomers consider the beginnings of the four seasons the Chinese consider the middles, e g. the Chinese consider that spring commences halfway between the winter solstice (23rd December) and the vernal equinox (21st March), i.e. on 4th or 5th February,[1] and not at the vernal equinox.

Given this system, the dates in the year and the times of dawn and dusk, in latitude 35 degrees north (Hsi-an, Lo-yang, and K'ai-fêng all lie near this latitude), during the Hsia year are as follows:—

[1] Two days later if the sun's motion is assumed to be uniform, as was thought to be the case in Han times.

Moon.	"Normal" beginning.	Dawn. a.m. hr.	Dawn. a.m. min.	Dusk. p.m. hr.	Dusk. p.m. min.
First	5th February	5	18	6	42
Second	6th March	4	48	7	12
(Vernal Equinox)	21st March	4	45	7	15
Third	6th April	4	02	7	58
Fourth	6th May	3	32	8	28
Fifth	7th June	3	02	8	58
(Summer Solstice)	22nd June	2	58	9	02
Sixth	8th July	3	02	8	58
Seventh	8th August	3	32	8	28
Eighth	8th September	4	02	7	58
(Autumnal Equinox)	23rd September	4	45	7	15
Ninth	9th October	4	48	7	12
Tenth	8th November	5	18	6	42
Eleventh	8th December	5	31	6	29
(Winter Solstice)	23rd December	5	34	6	26
Twelfth	6th January	5	31	6	29

These times are "apparent", not "mean" time, which introduces another uncertainty averaging about plus or minus six minutes (say 200 years of precessional time), and are given by Chinese observers as those at which the stars cease to be or become visible.

The Text

The text of the *Hsia Hsiao Chêng*, as far as astronomical references only are concerned, is as follows:—

"*First Moon.*

"Chü 鞠 then appears. What is Chü? Chü is a star name. 'Chü then appears' means that in the year it has again appeared.

"In the beginning [of the month] at dusk Shên 參 (Orion) is in the middle (South), then recording the season.

"The Tail of the Dipper hangs down below. The saying 'Tail of the Dipper' therefore shows Ts'an in the middle."

The commentators suggest that the lunar asterism Liu 柳 (δ to ω Hydrae) is equivalent to Chü; Liu rises when Orion is in the South.

Taking dusk at 6.42 p.m., it will be found that Orion souths now (say A.D. 1900 for simplicity) about 6th March. Owing to precession the date of southing of a star at a fixed

time of day advances one month in about 2,250 years, so that this corresponds for 5th February to about 350 B.C., with a possible error of plus or minus about 150 years.

(*Note.*—The precessional motion in celestial longitude along the ecliptic is 30 degrees in 2,160 years. If the star position happens to be close to an equinox this corresponds to 27½ degrees of right ascension, or 30 degrees of right ascension in 2,350 years. For positions near the solstices the angular movements in longitude and right ascension are in reverse ratio, the true average being 30 degrees of right ascension in 2,160 years. It so happens that most of the data are near the equinoxes and one month shift has been taken as 2,250 years for simplicity. No precision is possible.)

When the Tail of the Dipper (Ursa Major) hangs vertically in the north-east, Orion is in the south, as stated.

" *Second Moon.* "

(Nil.)

" *Third Moon.*

" Stars without season and do not appear."

This suggests that there are no particular stars to indicate this month.

" *Fourth Moon.*

" Mao 昴 (Pleiades) then appears.

" In the beginning [of the month] at dusk Nan Mên 南 門 (Centaurus) is exact. Nan Mên is a star that in the year again appears."

The Pleiades in Latitude 35° N. rise at 3.32 a.m. now early in June corresponding to early May some 2,250 years ago.

Nan Mên (α and β Centauri) lie far south and are only visible for part of the year in latitude 35° North. The group is almost exactly south of Arcturus (α Boötis), which souths now at 8.28 p.m. early in June, or about one month later than the fourth moon day of 6th May, corresponding again to some 2,250 years ago.

" *Fifth Moon.*

" In the beginning [of the month] at dusk Ta Huo 大 火 is

in the middle (South). Ta Huo is Hsin 心 (one of the twenty-eight Lunar Mansions including σ, α, and τ Scorpii). Hsin is in the middle."

At 8.58 p.m. Antares (α Scorpii) souths now on 12th July, or one month and five days later than 7th June, corresponding to about 2,600 years ago, or say 700 B.C. This is the earliest indication found, but if Ta Huo corresponds to Hsin *and* Fang 房 (β to ν Scorpii) the southing of the whole group is 7th July, reducing the interval once again to the same 2,250 years. Ta Huo is the second of the Jovian duodecimal divisions of the Chinese equatorial planet belt, and includes as such the three lunar asterisms Ti 氐, Fang, and Hsin with Fang in its centre, not Hsin. (Ti is from α to ι Librae.)

Huo ("Fire") is one of the cardinal star points in the *Yao Tien* 堯 典 (*Canon of Yao*) in the Chinese *Shu Ching* (*Book of History*), referred to in the appendix. Hsin ("Heart") alludes to the heart of the Green Dragon, a name given to the eastern quadrant of the equatorial band, the time being midnight at the winter solstice. "Ta Huo is Hsin" looks like a comment added to the text.

"*Sixth Moon.*

"At the beginning [of the month] at dusk the Tail of the Dipper is exactly upright.

"In the fifth moon Ta Huo was in the middle (South). In the sixth moon the Tail of the Dipper is exactly upright. Use this to compare the appearance. If the tail does not agree with Hsin it then conforms to I 依. I is Wei 尾 (the Tail of the Dragon, ϵ to λ Scorpii)."

This cannot be controlled at all exactly. The Tail of the Great Bear at 8.58 p.m. is perpendicular (upwards) to the horizon at about the beginning of August now (in lat. 35 N.) and therefore early in July 2,250 years ago. Wei souths at 8.58 p.m. now about 25th July, which is too early. The text seems to indicate that Wei gives an intermediate indication. The remark "I is Wei" again looks like an added comment.

Rather remarkably in the *Yüeh Ling*, or calendar section of the *Li Chi* (*Ritual Records*), the dusk culmination of Huo is put in the sixth moon which is practically its position at the present time. There must be an error in the *Yüeh Ling*, which agrees with the document under discussion in putting the culmination of Orion at dusk in the first moon. The *Yüeh Ling* is generally considered to be a compilation of the third century B.C.

"*Seventh Moon.*

"In the beginning [of the month] at dusk Chih Nü 織女 ('The Weaving Girl,' ε and α Lyrae) is exactly east directed.

"The Tail of the Dipper hangs below and then it is dawn."

At 8.28 p.m. Vega (α Lyrae) is almost overhead in early September with the line of the two stars towards the east, and would have been so one month earlier 2,250 years ago, but this is a very rough indication. Similarly, the Tail of the Great Bear hangs perpendicular to the horizon before dawn at 3.32 a.m. early in September, and would have been so at dawn in August 2,250 years ago.

"*Eighth Moon.*

"The Ch'ên 辰 (conjunction point, probably Hsin and Fang, equal to Scorpio) then declines. The Ch'ên is a star. Declines means goes in and does not appear."

This seems to allude to the fact that at 7.58 p.m. early (now) in October Scorpio sets, corresponding to dusk in early September 2,250 years ago.

The character *ch'ên* 辰 is used in various ways, but one of its standard meanings is "conjunction point for the sun and moon" and the two important *ch'ên* were Shên (Orion) and Huo (Scorpio). Here again observe the comment.

"*Ninth Moon.*

"The Huo within, the Huo within. The Ta Huo, Ta Huo is Hsin."

This simply seems to mean that Scorpio has set, which is a fact.

"*Tenth Moon.*

"Nan Mên appears. Nan Mên is a star. Reaching this (time) it again appears."

Nan Mên (Centaurus) is referred to in the fourth moon. Being so low its arc in the sky in latitude 35° N. is short and it will only be seen in the southern quarter. At 5.18 a.m. early in December it now rises and so (at dawn) in November 2,250 years ago.

"*Eleventh Moon.*

"The sun's Winter limit."

This is the only reference to the sun, but it quite definitely fixes the relation of the numbers of the moons to the seasons.

"*Twelfth Moon.*"

(Nil.)

All the data are consistent with the astronomical conditions in about 350 B.C., which is the epoch at which Shih Shên 石申 and Kan Tê 甘德 first collected moderately exact data on astronomical matters.

It is also the time at which, in the West, Kidinnu and Naburiannu flourished and provided the Greeks with the data which were so powerfully developed by Eudoxos and Hipparchos. The Chinese were much behind the Seleucid Babylonians in their grasp of astronomy, and did not master the oblique motion of the planets until the second century A.D.

No attempt has been made to deduce any exact date by refinement of the calculations since the data and times do not warrant it. Similarly only rough allowance has been made for the differences between celestial longitude and right ascensions which are of smaller order than the degree of approximation in the day of the year and the time of day.

On account of this roughness of the data, the date *might* be pushed back to say 700 B.C., or conversely could be drawn down almost to the early Han period (206 B.C.), although the latter is not probable because of the much superior data given in the *Shih Chi* (*Historical Records*) of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (*circa*

100 B.C.) and in the *Ch'ien Han Shu Lü Li Chih* 前漢書律曆志 (*Treatise on Metrology and the Calendar* in the *Former Han History*, composed early in the first century of the Christian era).

In any case this calendar cannot be of the Hsia period (traditional date, now known to be erroneous, *2205–1766* B.C.; possible date 2000–1500 B.C.), since this is far beyond the limits of error in the precessional calculations given above.

The astronomical content of the calendar differs very much in style from the allegedly very early *Yao Tien* in the *Book of History*, and also from the very systematic *Yueh Ling*. Emphasis is placed on the three great star groups which we call Orion, Scorpio, and the Great Bear, rather than on the twenty-eight asterisms only a few of which occur, rather casually and in some cases under names which are different from those current in the Han books. If this document is, as it appears, later than 700 B.C., the formal arrangement and names of the twenty-eight asterisms would seem to be of still later date and the rather precise system of the four quarter stars in the *Yao Tien*, which is the basis of the reputed great antiquity of that calendar, becomes still more surprising.

Appendix

The Riddle of the Yao Tien Calendar

It requires extreme temerity to refer to the much discussed antiquity of the *Yao Tien* calendar, upon which the Hsia calendar is traditionally based. All the modern sinological evidence seems to be against it really representing a record dating back to 2400 B.C., and yet the astronomical evidence seems to point that way. De Saussure devoted over twenty-five years to its study and his main arguments are very hard to overthrow.

Stripped of all detail, the Yao calendar asserts that the equinoxes and solstices are marked by four stars:—

(21st March)	Spring Equinox	by Niao 鳥 "The Bird"
(22nd June)	Summer Solstice	Huo 火 "Fire"

(23rd September)	Autumn Equinox	Hsü 虛 "Void"
(23rd December)	Winter Solstice	Mao 昴 "Pleiades" or "Sun Gate"

Whatever the original document may have meant, it is certain that in Han times these four were identified with the four lunar asterisms :—

Ch'i Hsing 七 星 ("Seven Stars")	α to ν Hydrae
Hsin 心 ("Heart")	σ to τ Scorpii
Hsü 虛 ("Void")	β Aquarii and α Equulei
Mao 昴 ("Pleiades")	η Tauri and surrounding stars

and it is a fact that these four star groups coincided (within a very few degrees) with the solstices and equinoxes about 4,320 years ago and culminated at 6 p.m. mean time on the days stated. Excepting the winter one, however, these culminations (southings) would not be visible, and in the case of the winter solstice some form of timekeeper would have been necessary to fix the time. De Saussure has argued that these positions were deduced from the location of the full moon amongst the stars. There is no doubt that such a method might have been used, and there is also no doubt that the whole very elaborate symmetry of the Chinese subdivision of the celestial equatorial band and its relation to the day and year, as it appears in the Han records, does presuppose these four in the alleged quadrantal positions. This system predates any *exact* estimate of the precession of the equinoxes by which alone the positions in 2400 B.C. might have been computed. The date of Yao was given by Mencius (*circa* 300 B.C.) as about 2100 B.C., and the origin of the calendar was attributed popularly in Han times to Huang Ti, who is put three or four hundred years before Yao, i.e. to 2400 B.C.

Two of the four star names are vague. Niao "the Bird" (the Vermilion Bird of the Southern Quadrant) includes in its widest sense seven of the asterisms (Tung Ching or μ Geminorum to Chen 軫 or γ Corvi) and so

allows a wide uncertainty (90 degrees or 6,480 years of precessional time).

Huo ("Fire") is one of the duodecimal divisions of the equator, representing the annual displacement of the planet Jupiter, called Ta Huo ("Great Fire"), and includes three of the asterisms (*Ti to Hsin*, covering the constellations Libra and Scorpio), allowing an uncertainty of 30 degrees or say 2,250 years, being near to an equinox.

Hsü and Mao, on the other hand, are single asterisms of small range in longitude (about 8 degrees), which only allows an uncertainty of about 600 years.

Schlegel and de Saussure both vigorously combat the idea that dusk culminations could have decided the matter.

Hsü culminates now (1900 for simplicity) at 7.15 p.m. on the 23rd October, just one month after the autumn equinox, which corresponds to 2,250 years ago or say 350 B.C., which would conform to a late date for the Yao Tien, but Mao will not fit this at all.

Mao culminates at winter solstice dusk (6.26 p.m.) now on the 9th February, which is one and a half months after the winter solstice, corresponding to about 3,300 years ago, or 1400 B.C. This is the latest date if the dusk culminations are used, and Hsü fits this very badly indeed. The difference between these two is the first main discrepancy in the case against the quadrantal positions and the consequently implied 2400 B.C. date.

As to Huo, at 9.02 p.m. (summer solstice dusk), using the full extent of the three asterisms, dusk culmination now can occur at any date from 17th June to 15th July. Even the latest of these days is not late enough to make the date of composition later than A.D. 100, which is quite impossible. This is the second discrepancy.

Thus the case for the great antiquity of the astronomical content of the *Yao Tien* is vastly stronger than it is for that of the *Hsia Hsiao Chêng*. H. Maspèro has developed a very interesting theory that the *Yao Tien* text includes an

euhemerized myth of a Sun-goddess Hsi-Ho 羲 和, which is quite plausible, but he has not ventured to disturb de Saussure's main argument, and there is no necessary inconsistency in a myth containing a genuine astronomical tradition.

379.

The Image of Buddha in the Jo-wo-Khang Temple at Lhasa

By E. H. C. WALSH

(PLATES VI AND VII)

THE image of the Buddha which is the most widely renowned and the most revered by Buddhists throughout Tibet and Central Asia is the image in the Jo-wo-Khang, the Great Temple at Lhasa.[1] This image has been mentioned by many writers. Sarat Chandra Das [1] says, "The image is exquisitely modelled and represents a handsome young prince. The Kunyer said that the image represented the Buddha when at the age of twelve, hence the princely apparel in which he is clothed and the dissimilarity of the image to those seen elsewhere."[2] The Japanese monk Ekai Kawaguchi[3] also refers to the image, but does not describe it. But, until Sir Francis Younghusband's Mission reached Lhasa in 1904, it had not been described in detail by anyone who had seen it. It was then seen by certain of the officers on the Expedition, and has been described by Colonel L. A. Waddell, who was with the Mission as Principal Medical Officer, in his Book *Lhasa and its Mysteries* (1905), and by the late Mr. Perceval Landon, who was with the Mission as the Correspondent of *The Times*, in his book *Lhasa* (1905). These two descriptions differ as regards every detail and cannot be reconciled.

Sir Charles Bell does not describe the image and only refers to it in reference to a bell which appears to have belonged to the former Jesuit or Capuchin Missions in Lhasa, which hangs in the passage leading to it.[4]

[1] Or the various celebrated images of Buddha, see *Land of the Lamas*, by W. W. Rockhill, p. 105, note 2.

[2] *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., 1902, pp. 151–2.

[3] *Three Years in Tibet*, by Sramana Ekai Kawaguchi, 1909, p. 228.

[4] *The Religion of Tibet*, by Sir Charles Bell, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., 1931, p. 152.

Sir Charles Bell has also told me that he saw the image several times during his year in Lhasa and stood close to it, and that the chain-curtain was up when he did so, but that he does not remember it well.

As the writer is the only person who has not only seen the image, but has also photographed it, it seems desirable that the photograph of the image should be placed on record.

The image was brought from China in the seventh century, when Srongtsan Gyempo, the King of Tibet, invaded Western China, and in the terms of peace, was given the daughter of the Emperor of China in marriage. She was a Buddhist, as Buddhism had already been introduced into China, and she brought the image with her from China (as well as the silk-worm and the use of ink and the almanac). Srongtsan Gyempo also married a Nepalese princess who was a Buddhist. His two wives converted him to the Buddhist religion, and he introduced it into Tibet as the religion of the country, for which purpose he sent for Buddhist monks from India, who also gave Tibet its alphabet, based on the Northern Indian alphabet of that time, for the purpose of translating the Buddhist sacred books. He also built the Jo-wo-Khang ("The House of the Lord"), to enshrine the image, known as the "Jo-wo Rimpochke" ("The Precious Lord").

The image is in a shrine in the innermost part, "The Holy of Holies," of the Jo-wo-Khang Temple, and has an ambulatory round it, in which are a number of menacing guardian deities, guarding the shrine. The shrine is open on the front side only, and this is covered with a curtain of steel-mesh which is kept locked with several padlocks, the key of each of which is held by a different official, so that it can only be opened by them acting together. In front of it are a number of golden butter-lamps, the largest of which is about 2 feet in diameter. The light in the "Holy of Holies", and especially in the shrine itself, is dim, and the image only appears in the light of the butter-lamps, and, when the chain-curtain is down, can only be indistinctly made out behind it.



THE IMAGE OF BUDDHA
IN THE JO-WO KHANG TEMPLE AT LHASA.

[To face p 536.

The writer was taken over the Jo-wo-Khang by the Head Lama, and the chain-curtain was raised, as seen in the top right-hand corner of the photograph, for him to see the Image and to photograph it.

Colonel Waddell notes that the image is supposed to represent Buddha "when a youthful prince of sixteen in his home at Kapilavastu", and describes it as follows (op. cit., p. 369):—

"It is, however, a repellent image, about a man's size, seated with goggle eyes and coarse, sensual face, and is of very rude workmanship. So inferior is it to anything that I have seen in China, and so unlike in feature any type of Buddha's image there, that I doubt the story of its foreign origin. Nor does it resemble any Indian ones, nor have I seen anything so uncouth in Buddha's images in Burma, Ceylon, or Japan."

Colonel Waddell appends a footnote with reference to the image: "It is said by the Chinese to have been cast by a Chinaman from Tsolang (Rockhill, loc. cit., p. 263); but the first Dalai Lama ascribed to it an Indian origin, in his guide-book."

Colonel Waddell did not see the image with the chain-curtain raised, and nothing is seen behind the curtain in his photo of the shrine (p. 368).

As will be seen from the present photograph, Colonel Waddell's description of the details of the shrine are correct. The writer, however, who examined the image carefully, did not consider it to be "coarse" or "sensual" or "like a foul felon in its prison, or a glaring demon in its web of chains". The mouth, as will be seen, is wide open and the lips are consequently shown distinctly, which may have given Colonel Waddell the impression of its being sensual, especially if not clearly seen through the chain-curtain. The butter-lamps being directly between the image and the spectator make a glare in front of it.

The writer's photograph was taken with a magnesium light,

which burnt for some time and made the image perfectly clear and distinct.

The writer also does not agree with Colonel Waddell as to the coarseness of the work on the golden butter-lamps. The carving and workmanship on them are delicate and fine, though their detail, and that on the front of the altar, does not show in the reproduction of the photograph on Plate VI.

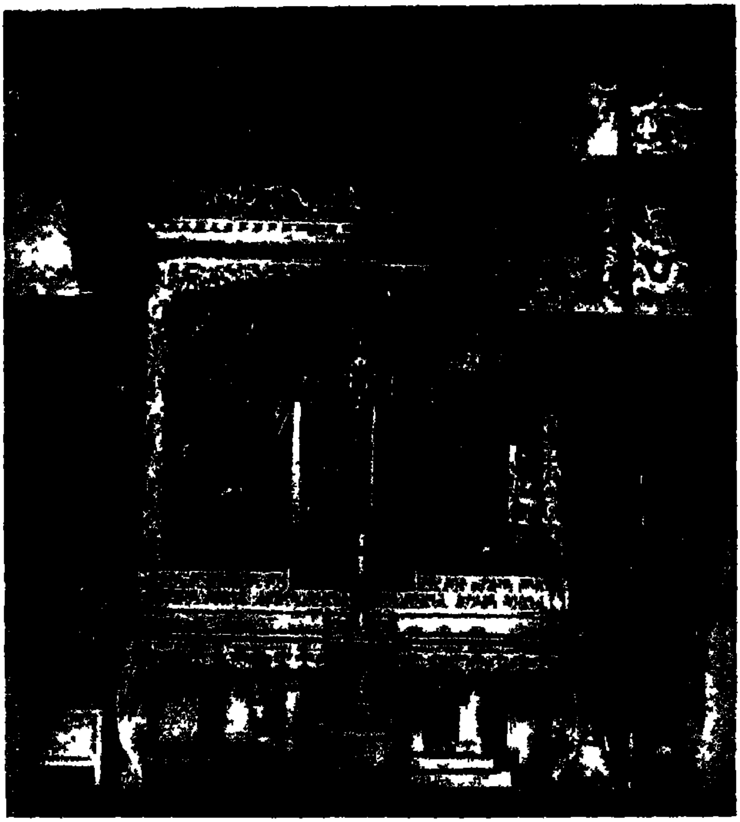
The image is more than life-size. There is a Tibetan ceremonial scarf (*kha-btags*) placed over the head-dress, which is seen hanging down on either side of it. The head-dress is said to have been given by the reformer Tsong-Khapa in the fifteenth century. The golden butter-lamps are on three shelves, each above and behind the other; the large one on the left in the top row is in the centre of the altar and is directly in front of the image. The two dragons, presented by an Emperor of China, which are curled round the pillars on either side supporting the canopy over the image, are of silver-gilt. They are about 10 feet in height. Gilded dragons of similar design are placed on either side of the images, as guardians, in the shrines of many other temples and in the private chapels in some houses in Tibet. The writer has taken a photograph of one such shrine in a private house at Sha-ri in the Chumbi Valley.

As mentioned by Colonel Waddell, Rockhill says of the image, "It was originally brought in the T'ang period, when the Imperial Princess came to Tibet. It represents the Buddha at the age of twelve. It is moreover said that it was cast by a Chinese from Tso-lang."[1] Sarat Chandra Das, however,[2] says (p. 151), "This famous image of Buddha, known as Jo-vo rinpoche, is said to have been made in Magadha during the lifetime of the great teacher.[3] Visvakarma is supposed to have made it, under the guidance of the god Indra, of an

[1] "Tibet. A Geographical, Ethnological, and Historical Sketch derived from Chinese Sources," by W. W. Rockhill, *JRAS.*, 1891, pp. 1–133, and 185–291, p. 263.

[2] *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet*, by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E. Edited by W. W. Rockhill, 1902, p. 151.

[3] See I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen von Ssanang Ssetsen*.



THE IMAGE OF BUDDHA
IN THE DUNG-KAR MONASTERY

[*To face p.* 588.

alloy of the five precious substances, gold, silver, zinc, iron, and copper, and the 'five precious celestial substances' probably diamonds, rubies, lapis-lazuli, emeralds, and *indranīla*. The legend goes on to say that the image was in the first place sent from India to the capital of China in return for the assistance the Emperor had given the King of Magadha against the Yavanas from the west. When the Princess Konjo, daughter of the Emperor Tai-tsung, was given in marriage to the King of Tibet, she brought the image to Lhasa as a portion of her dowry."

There can be no doubt from the photograph that the image is Indian. The features are entirely different from Chinese Images of Buddha of that or other periods. Only the head and shoulders of the image can be seen, the lower part being hidden by the butter-lamps in front of it, and consequently the position of the arms and hands cannot be seen. But, from the open mouth, it appears to be Buddha preaching or expounding the Law.

In the Dung-kar Monastery above Galing-kha, which is the only monastery of the Geluk-pa sect in the Chumbi Valley, there is an image of Buddha which the Lamas claim to be the same as the image in the Jo-wo-Khang at Lhasa. The writer has taken a photograph of that image, which is shown for comparison in Plate VII. The mouth is open and, excluding the different head-dress, which in either case is not part of the image, the resemblance of the face to that of the Jo-wo-Khang Image is very striking, and bears out the claim of the Lamas. The position of the hands and the attitude (*mudrā*) of the right hand, with the thumb and forefinger joined and the other fingers raised, confirms the conclusion that the Jo-wo-Khang Image, also, is Buddha preaching.

Mr. Perceval Landon's description of the image (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 309) is diametrically opposed to that of Colonel Waddell. Mr. Landon saw the image with the chain-curtain raised. He describes the features as "smooth and almost childish".

As will be seen from the photograph, there is no special indication of youthfulness in the face of the image. The face is square and thickset, the neck thick and strong, and the shoulders broad. As already stated, the writer considers the image to be Buddha preaching, in spite of the tradition of its being Buddha as a youth.

Mr. Landon has given (p. 310) a pencil drawing of "The Head of the Great Golden Idol of Lhasa, from a rough sketch made on the spot". The drawing is incorrect in every detail and bears no resemblance to the image. The mouth is wide and the lips are closed; the eyes are narrow slits and point very obliquely upwards; and the ears have long lobes reaching down and touching the shoulders. As will be seen from the photograph, the mouth of the image is wide open; the eyes are full and round, and are horizontal; the ears are normal and the lobes are not elongated. The head-dress is also incorrectly shown in the form of a modern coronet.

On all the above-mentioned points, *Fiat justicia ruat cœlum*—let the photograph decide.

390.

Ibn al-Jauzī's Handbook on the Makkan Pilgrimage

By JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI

I

THE duty of the pilgrimage to the sanctuary of the Ka'ba (*hajj*), as imposed by *Qur'ān* 3 : 91 on every Muslim, has been expounded in all the collections of traditions (*ḥadīth*) and all the textbooks of canonical law (*fiqh*). Historians dealt with the institution of the pilgrimage, and geographers described the sacred cities of Makka and Madīna as well as the surrounding country of al-Ḥijāz. The traditional and topical information about the pilgrimage had in time increased so much that in the sixth century A.H./twelfth century A.D. the celebrated Baghdād polyhistor Ibn al-Jauzī [1] could compile it in a medium-sized handbook.

This work, which has not yet been edited in print or reviewed, bears the title *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs al-musammā Muthīr al-'azm as-sākin ilā ashraf al-amākin* (A History in Five Parts, Named The Excitative of Firm Resolution for Visiting the Most Noble of Places). It is extant in the following manuscripts [2]: Berlin (Prussian State Library), Ahlwardt, No. 4042, and another copy registered in the hand-written inventory of later acquisitions under Oct. 1452; Oxford (Bodleian Library), Cat., vol. ii, pp. 129–130, under No. cxxxix; Damascus Z. 82 ('Um. 87), 46, where the title is *Muthīr al-gharām*; Cairo, v, 322 ; Rāmpūr, ii, 323, 635, where the title is *Mushīr al-'azzām*. Excerpts from the work were given by J. Gagnier, *La vie de Mahomet, traduite de l'Alcoran*, Amsterdam, 1732, 2 vols., in vol. ii, p. 230.[3]

[1] For the author and his principal work see my paper the *Kitāb al-muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jauzī, *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 49–76.

[2] See Ch. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, vol. i, pp. 505–6, and *Supplement zum Bd.* i, p. 920.

[3] The MSS. studied by me are the two MSS. of the Prussian State Library of Berlin. Both were written by later hands. MS. No. 4042, to the folio-

The title *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs* points to the author's intention of dividing his work into five parts, though it appears from it that he did not do so. The work consists of 166—according to the catalogue of the Bodleian Library, loc. cit., of 169—chapters that are not numbered. The author himself puts it at the end of his work [1] that he wrote it from the 12th to the 20th Ramaḍān, 553/7th to 15th October, 1158; in the same year he went on pilgrimage, and, after returning home, he made a copy of his original text. Consequently, his work was originally planned as a preparatory study of a zealous Muslim just before his pilgrimage, after which he copied his first draft in a practically unaltered form.

The *Muthīr al-'azm* can best be styled a guide-book for the pilgrims. It contains a good many traditions, longer or shorter quotations from poetry, and edifying narratives bearing on the pilgrimage. The whole material, arranged according to the subsequent stations of the pilgrimage, is divided into ten parts named *abwāb* (chapters), and each part consists of a number of *bābs* (chapters). Every *bāb* bears a title indicative of its contents, and begins, as a rule, with a short description or definition of its subject-matter, followed by a number of traditions, legal opinions, poetical quotations, and in many cases also edifying narratives and curiosities connected with the place in question.

The general scheme of Ibn al-Jauzī's *Muthīr al-'azm* is as follows:—

Introduction (fol. 2*b* to fol. 5). The system of the work.

Part I (fol. 5 to fol. 36). The institution of the pilgrimage. *Ḥajj* and *'umra*. The pilgrims' way from Makka to Mount 'Arafa.

pages and lines of which I refer in this paper, seems to be an older and more complete copy than MS. Oct. 1452, which is deficient, fols. 53, 54, and 58, as well as the end of the work from fol. 300 onwards, being wanting. The fact that in the former MS. the author is constantly referred to in the first person of the singular whereas he is regularly mentioned as *al-muṣannif* (the author) in the latter MS., may perhaps point to the former MS. being copied after the autograph, which might not have been the case with the latter MS.

[1] Fol. 164, ll. 10–12.

Part II (fol. 36*b* to fol. 47). The state of *iḥrām*.

Part III (fol. 47 to fol. 58). The Day of 'Arafa (the ninth Dhu'l-Ḥijja).

Part IV (fol. 58 to fol. 64). The immolation of animals on the 10th Dhu'l-Ḥijja.

Part V (fol. 64 to fol. 68*b*). The significance of Makka.

Part VI (fol. 68*b* to fol. 78*b*). The description of the Ka'ba.

Part VII (fol. 78*b* to fol. 95*b*). The *ṭawāf* or circuit of the Ka'ba.

Part VIII (fol. 95*b* to fol. 140). The market of 'Ukāẓ. Poetical quotations on Makka. The pilgrimage of prominent traditional and historical persons.

Part IX (fol. 140 to fol. 143). The significance of Madīna.

Part X (fol. 143 to fol. 164). The mosque of Madīna. Muḥammad's tomb. Funerary inscriptions, verses, and sayings about graves, proverbs by famous wise people.

Conclusion (fol. 164 to 164*b*). A list of pupils who heard the work from the author's son.

II

As may be seen from his general history *Kitāb al-muntaẓam*, Ibn al-Jauzī's peculiarity is the conscientious quotation of his authorities and his keenness about *isnāds*.[1] This also holds good for his *Muthīr al-'azm*.

For the grammatical interpretations of the names of the places visited by pilgrims Ibn Fāris and az-Zuhrī are the authorities repeatedly referred to. As for canonical law (*fiqh*), the opinions of all the four orthodox schools are regularly quoted about the ceremonies of pilgrimage though the Ḥanbalite school, to which Ibn al-Jauzī was a fanatical adherent,[2] is referred to more frequently and in greater detail than the three other schools.

As regards tradition the most important literary sources our author drew upon were the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and

[1] See my paper, *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 54 and 64–5.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–4.

Muslim. His lesser authorities are Muḥammad ibn Sīrīn, Abū 'Ubayd, Thaur, and al-Khaṭṭābī. In addition to these names generally known, however, there are four authorities peculiar to Ibn al-Jauzī, whose works seem to have been lost.

Three of these traditionists regularly figure also in his *Kitāb al-muntaẓam*. The most important of them is al-Qazzāz, quoted also in the *Muthīr al-'azm* as either 'Abdarraḥmān ibn Muḥammad or Abū Manṣūr al-Qazzāz, an eminent disciple of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.[1] Our author's grandson, Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, in his *Mir'āt az-zamān*,[2] characterizes him as being pious, good, very silent, and constant in his retirement from people. He died in Shawwāl 535/10th May to 7th June 1141, and was buried in the Bāb Ḥarb at Baghdād. He heard also Ibn al-Mahdī, Abu'l-Ghanāyim, Ibn ad-Dajjājī, Abū Ja'far ibn al-Maslama, and many others. Besides our author, al Qazzāz also influenced Tājaddīn al-Kindī.

Next to al-Qazzāz, it is to Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir that Ibn al-Jauzī most frequently refers in his traditions.[3] According to Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī's *Mir'āt az-zamān* [4] he, Abul-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir ibn Muhammad ibn 'Alī ibn Nāṣir as-Sallāmī ad-*Dārī al-Fārisī*, was born on 25th Sha'bān 477/27th December 1084; he was a sagacious *ḥāfiẓ* who knew many *isnāds*. A contemporary of these two traditionists, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdalbāqī, a name frequently mentioned also in the *Kitāb al-muntaẓam*,[5] was Ibn al-Jauzī's third most important authority for his traditions in the *Muthīr al-'azm*.[6] His fourth

[1] Cf. my paper, pp. 65–6. His full name is, according to as-Sam'ānī's *Kitāb al-ansāb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, p 451, Abū Manṣur 'Abdarraḥmān ibn abi Ghālib Muḥammad ibn 'Abdalwāḥid ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Munāzil ash-Shaybānī al-Qazzāz. According to the same passage, his master was also Abu'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-Yaqūr. Al-Qazzāz's father Abū Ghālib, known as Ibn az-Zurayq, was also a renowned traditionist.

[2] Ed. J. Richard Jewett, Chicago, 1907; see pp. 107–8, where his name is written rather carelessly as المرار, and his father's name as ابن رريق.

[3] Cf. my paper, loc. cit.

[4] Ed. cit., p. 108.

[5] Cf. my paper, p. 68.

[6] See also in the *Mir'āt az-zamān*, ed. cit., p. 108–9.

important authority on tradition is Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣūfī,[1] of whom no literary work has remained to us.

But it is on account of the abundance of its poetical quotations that the *Muthīr al-'azm* is really important for Arabic studies. So many shorter and longer excerpts from poems does it contain that the superficial reader is easily inclined to regard the work as a mere compilation of Arabic poetry depicting Makka and the pilgrimage. Exaggerated as this view might be, it is a fact that the *Muthīr al-'azm* is full of quotations from verses by about three-score poets. Among them Ibn al-Jauzī also presents himself as a poet with excerpts from five *qaṣīdas* of his own. His favourite poets are doubtless ar-Riḍā and this latter's disciple Mihyār ibn Marzūya; from the *Muthīr al-'azm* alone copious anthologies of these two poets could be extracted and compiled.

The following list contains the names of all the poets quoted by Ibn al-Jauzī in alphabetical order, with references in parentheses to folio-pages where their names occur.

Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣūl al-Kātib (19*b*); 'Alī *ibn Aflaḥ* (25, 63*b*); Abū Bakr *ibn al-Anbārī* (27*b*, 60*b*, 102); Abū Ja'far *ibn al-Bayāḍī* (24, 105); Abū Ghālib *ibn Bushrān* (18); *Ibn al-Jauzī* (18*b*, 27*b*, 106*b*, 107, 107*b*, 108, 108*b*, 139*b*); *Ibn Ḥayyūs* (103); 'Abdarraḥmān *ibn Khārija* (133,134); Muḥammad *ibn al-Khafājī* (24*b*, 27, 105); Abū 'Abdallāh *ibn al-Khayyāṭ* (104*b*); *Ibn ad-Damīna* (19*b*, 102*b*); 'Umar *ibn abī Rabī'a* (55*b*, 63*b*, 137); *Ibn ar-Rūmī* (12*b*); *Ibn Sābiṭ* (134); *Ibn ash-Shibl* (104*b*); *Ibn Fāris* (29, 55*b*, 64*b*, 92*b*, 140, 140*b*); Abū Manṣūr *ibn al-Faḍl* (24, 82, 106); *Ibn al-Mu'tazz* (55*b*); al-Wazīr *ibn al-Maghribī* (24); Abū 'Ubayda (60*b*, 94*b*, 140*b*); *Abu'l-'Atāhiya* (163); *Abū 'Umar* (60*b*); *Abū Firāsh* (29*b*); *Abū Naḍr* al-Asadī (Persian poet, 12*b*); *Abū Nuwās* (58*b*); *al-Akhṭal* (140); *al-A'rābī* (58*b*); *al-A'shā* (99); Abū 'Abdallāh *al-Bārī'* (25, 104*b*, 132*b*); Abu'l-Muḥsin Ẓāhir *al-Jabbār* (105*b*); *Jarīr* (129*b*);

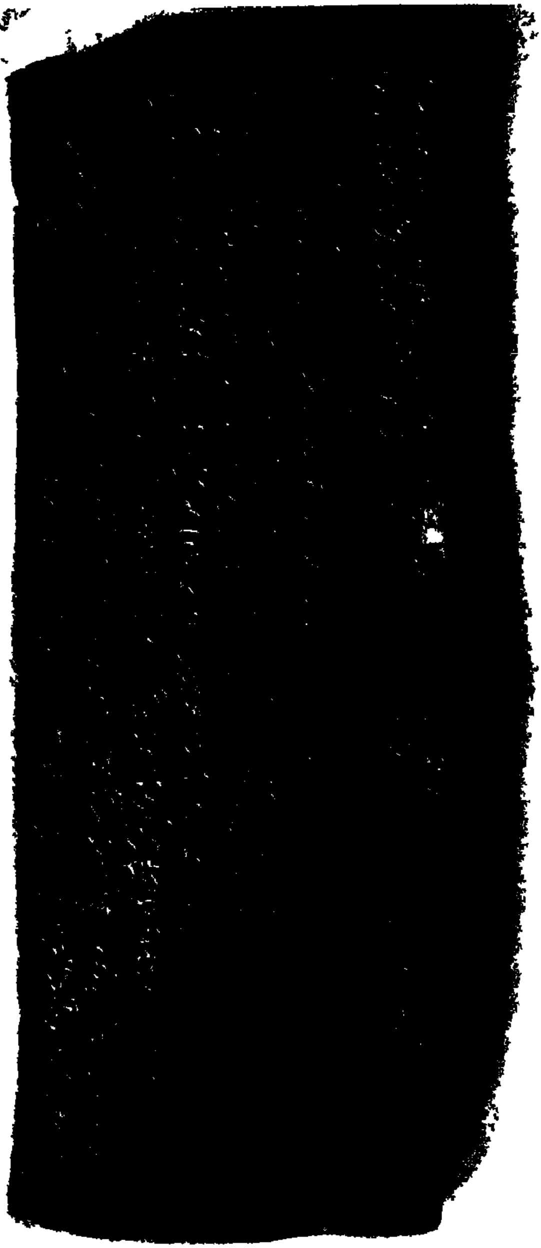
[1] Cf. *Ḥājjī Khalīfa*, vol. ii, p. 594, No. 4032.

Jamīl (102); *al-Junayd* (83b, 84); *al-Ḥarīrī* (26, 26b); *Ḥassān ibn Thābit* (99); *Dhu'n-Nūn* (87); ash-Sharīf *Riḍā* ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (16, 19b, 55b, 78b, 102b), 129b–130b); *az-Zuhrī* (64b, 134); Ja'far ibn Aḥmad *as-Sarrāj* (105); *as-Sarī ar-Riḍā* (105b); *ash-Shiblī* (61b, 78b, 83, 129); *aṣ-Ṣimmat al-Qushayrī* (19b); *aṭ-Ṭā'ī* ibn 'Amr Allāh (the caliph, 12b); Abū Muḥammad *'Abdallāh ibn 'Uthmān* an-Naḥwī (137); *al-'Urjī* (55b); *'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb* (the caliph, 19); *Gharwal ibn 'Aus al-Ḥutay'a* (140); *al-Farazdaq* (60b); *Qays al-Majnūn* (102); *Kuthayyir* (102b); *Mihyār* ibn Marzūya (17, 20–4, 29, 54b, 63b, 103–4b, 130b, 137b–9); al-Ḥarth ibn Khālid *al-Makhzūmī* (19, 135b); Abu'l-Qāsim *al-Muṭarriz* (106); *an-Nābigha* adh-Dhubyānī (99, 140).

Thus, the *Muthīr al-'azm* is an ample repository of all kinds of information about the pilgrimage to Makka, which its many-sided author could have gathered from the vast storehouse of Arabic literature. As it affords a good survey of the rituals and customs of the pilgrimage and contains a profuse anthology on this subject, an edition of it would do good service to Arabic studies.[1]

[1] That the *Muthīr al-'azm* impressed later authors, appears from a description of Makka and its holy mosque by Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ad-Diyārbakrī, Ḥanbalite or Ḥanafite qāḍī of Makka (d after 982/1574–5), see the MS of Berlin (Ahlwardt, No. 6069), fols 92–3. He evidently borrowed the title of Ibn al-Jauzī's handbook for his work on general history *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs fī aḥwāl nafs nafīs* (printed in Cairo, 1283 and 1302 A.H.).





BRICK II, A.

The Gopālpur Bricks

By E H JOHNSTON

(PLATES VIII–X.)

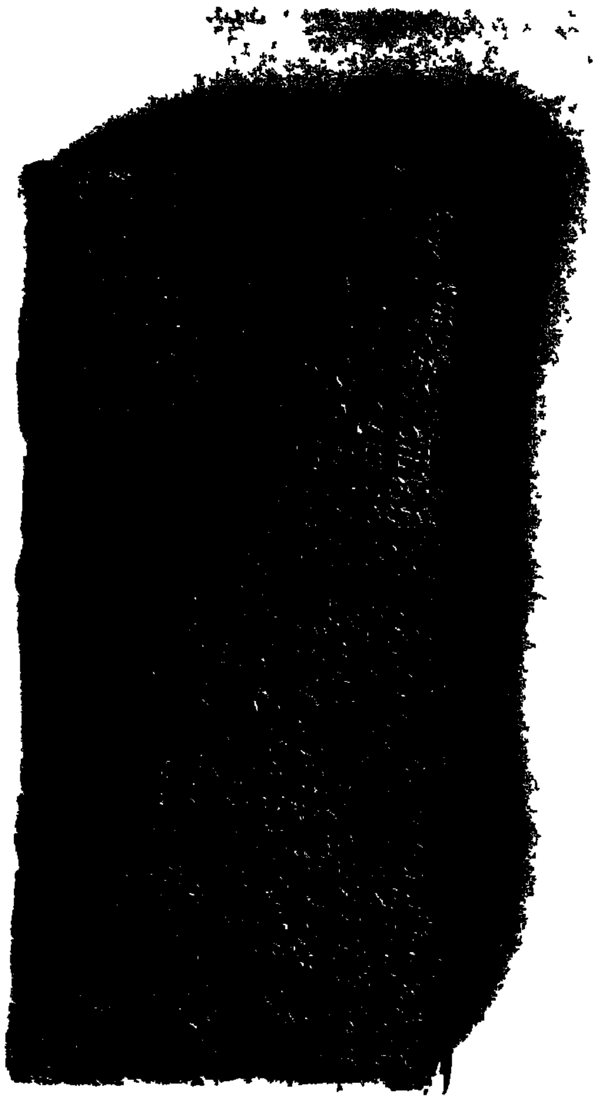
OVER forty years ago a number of bricks, inscribed with Buddhist sūtras, were discovered in an underground chamber at Gopālpur in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces by men ransacking the site for building materials. Four of these came into the possession of Dr. Hoey and Mr. Vincent Smith, who published an account of the find with a transcription of one of the bricks in *Proc. ASB.*, 1896, July, pp. 99–103, but there is reason to believe that a number more remained in the hands of the villagers or were built into an indigo vat by the local zamindar. No further steps were taken for publication of the texts, though references to them have been made occasionally since [1]; and the bricks themselves were lost sight of. On taking over recently at the Indian Institute in Oxford, I noticed in one of the cases of the small Museum attached to it several inscribed bricks, which on examination were found to be the missing ones, Mrs. Hoernle having presented them some fifteen years ago. They were still largely encrusted with mortar, which made the reading of many characters difficult, but Mr. Rickard of the Ashmolean Museum proved equal to removing these deposits and to rendering them as legible as on the day they were inscribed, except for certain fractures. As the contents are of considerable interest to Buddhist scholars, I publish a transcription of the unpublished portion here, and for the benefit of those interested in palæography I adjoin photographs of IIA, IIIB, and IVA; it is not necessary to reproduce them in their entirety, as the writing on all the bricks is of the same kind and the repetitions in the matter are such that the portions not illustrated contain hardly any

[1] Pargiter, The Kasia Copper-Plate, *A.S.I. Ann. Rep.*, 1910–11, pp. 73 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, xxi, p. 195; B. C. Law, *JRAS.*, 1937, p. 290.

characters of which typical specimens are not available on the plates.

Dr. Hoey and Mr. Smith mentioned five bricks, but this now turns out to be due to a mistake. Bricks I–III are complete and in good order, except in a few places where portions of the surface have been knocked off; but Brick IV is in four fragments, three of which join together to make one half, while the fourth is not part of a separate brick but forms the lower corner of the other half of brick IV with a gap between it and the rest. These scholars also recorded the opinion that "the writing was evidently incised before the brick was baked", and on first examination I too thought that the semi-cursive nature of the writing pointed to this conclusion. But now that brick IV has been cleaned, it is evident that various deep depressions on its verso were caused during baking, possibly by adhesion to another brick, and that the text has been so disposed as to avoid these faults in the surface, from which it is to be inferred that the incision of the characters was executed subsequent to baking. Presumably also, if the letters had been cut in the clay, while it was soft and moist, a burr would have been left at the edges of the deeper cuts at least, but no traces of such ridges are visible on any of the bricks.[1] The form of the characters, particularly *ma*, *la*, and *ṇa*, suggests that the date is in the neighbourhood of A.D. 500; the Nalanda bricks, described in *Ep. Ind.*, loc. cit., are of about the same date or possibly a few decades later. That coins of a much earlier epoch were discovered in the same chamber has evidently no bearing on the chronology of the inscriptions. The measurements of the bricks, which are not however quite symmetrical, in centimetres are as follows: I, 24·4 × 11·5 × 2·2; II, 28·6 × 12 × 2·1; III, 23·8 × 11·6 × 2·1; IV, length not determinable, 13·4 × 2·7.

[1] Since writing the above, I have seen in Dr. Le May's collection a terra-cotta plaque, the inscription on the back of which shows precisely the burr to be expected when letters are cut in soft clay.



BRICK III, B.

[To face p 548

Turning to the contents, brick I gives the complete text of a brief sūtra, setting out the chain of the *pratītyasamutpāda* from both the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* aspects and closely related to *Saṁyutta*, ii, 1; its object seems to be to explain the applications of the terms *ācaya* and *apacaya* to the causal chain, a curious usage for which the nearest, parallel I can trace is to be found in the employment of these words in Pāli to signify the increase or decrease of the store of *karman* (e.g. *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, 1013–14, 1397–8). The same text is given by brick IV, though with gaps due to parts being missing, and it is also known from the Kasia copper-plate (Pargiter, op. cit.). As brick I was published in the *Proc. ASB.* already quoted, it is not necessary to repeat the whole here, but certain readings there given can now be rectified. The references are to the lines of brick I.

Recto, line 1. For *āmantrayati* read *āmantrayate* (both bricks).

Line 3. For *sādha ca suṣva ca* read *sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca.* The reading is clearer in IV than in I.

Lines 4–5. The missing part of line 4 of IV corresponds to the words from *m ācayaḥ katamaḥ* to *utpadyate yadutā*, but as there is not room for so many characters, presumably the sentence *yadutāsmin satīdaṁ bhavaty asyotpādād idam utpadyate* was omitted by IV, though wrongly in view of their appearing also in the Kasia copper-plate.

Line 6. I omits *ṣaḍāyatana* from the chain, but IV has it correctly.

Line 9 (and also verso, line 6). For °*duḥkhādermanasyo*° read °*duḥkhadaurmanasyo*°.

Verso. Line 4. I omits *sparśa* from the chain, but IV has it correctly.

Line 7. For *kepamasya* (marked as a doubtful reading) read *kevalasya.* The two middle characters are not legible in I, but are clear enough in IV.

Line 9. The reading *āttamanasas te* is clear in IV.

Line 10. For [*asya*] *nanda*[*ḥ*] read *abhyanandan*, but the

final character, though certain, is not quite clear on either brick.

Bricks II and III contain consecutive portions of a sūtra, in which the Buddha describes how he attained to a knowledge of the causal chain on the night in which he reached enlightenment. As both the beginning and end are missing, it remains uncertain whether the sūtra gave an account of all the events of that night or was restricted to the subject of the *pratītyasamutpāda*. That the canon of some Hīnayāna schools contained a sūtra of this description is a natural inference from passages such as *Buddhacarita*, xiv, 52–83 [1]; but the nearest analogous passage I can find in Sanskrit is at *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann), pp. 346–8, which differs somewhat in wording and matter from the present text, but which has at the beginning the original sentences from which *Buddhacarita*, xiv, 50–1, were taken. The text starts in the middle of the *anuloma* aspect of the causal chain, which ends with *vijñāna*, not with *avidyā*, as is the case in the *Lalitavistara* passage, despite the fact that the *pratiloma* aspect has all the links. The *Buddhacarita* version, however, presents the same features and has another parallel in that its verse 73, which, as freely translated by me from the Tibetan, runs, "Then after he had understood the order of causality, he thought over it; his mind travelled over the views that he had formed and did not turn aside to other thoughts," reproduces the sense, and possibly some of the wording, of the sentence at the end of the *anuloma* exposition (brick IIA, lines 8 and 9); this does not appear in the *Lalitavistara*, and I would suggest that Aśvaghoṣa knew the sūtra in this or in a very similar recension.

The text of the bricks runs as follows, characters which are doubtful or missing owing to the damaged state of the surface being supplied in brackets.

Brick IIA

1. yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva ṣaḍāyatane sati sparśo bhavati ṣaḍāyatana-

[1] See my translation, *Panjab Univ. Or. Publ.*, No. 32.



BRICK IV, A.

[To face p 550

2. pratyayaś ca puna sparśaḥ tasya mamaitad abhavat kasmin sati ṣaḍāyatanaṁ bhavati kiṁpratya-

3. yaś[1] ca punaḥ ṣaḍāyatanaṁm iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata evam yathābhū-

4. tasyābhisamayo babhūva nāmarūpe sati ṣaḍāyatanaṁ bhavati nāmarūpapratyayaṁ ca

5. punaḥ ṣaḍāyatanam tasya mamaitad abhavat kasmin sati nāmarūpa[ṁ] bhavati kimpratyayam ca

6. punar nnāmarūpaṁm iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata evam yathābhūtasyābhisamayo

7. babhūva vijñāne sati nāmarūpaṁ bhavati vijñānapratyayam ca punar nnāmarūpam tasya mamaitad a-

8. bhavat kasmin sati vijñānaṁ bhavati kiṁpratyayaṁ ca punar vvijñānaṁm iti tasya mama vijñānāt pratya-

9. [yā]d āvarttate mānasaṁ nātaḥ pareṇa vyativarttate ya[duta] vijñānapratyayaṁ nāmarūpam nāmarūpa-

10. pratyayaḥ ṣaḍāyatanaḥ[2] ṣaḍāya[tanapratya]yaḥ sparśah sparśapratyayā vedanā

Brick IIB

1. vedanāpratyayā tṛṣṇā tṛṣṇāpratyayam upādānam upādānapratyayo bhavaḥ bhavapratyayā jātih

2. jātipratyayā jarāmaraṇaśokaparidevaduḥkhadaurmanasyopāyāsāḥ saṁbhavamnti evam asya

3. mahato duḥkhaskandhasya samudayo bhavati tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asati jarāmaraṇaṁ na bha-

4. vati kasya nirodhāj jarāmaraṇanirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisa-

5. mayo babhūva jātyām asatyāṁ jarāmaranaṁ na bhavati jātinirodhāj jarāmaraṇanirodhah tasya mamaitad a-

6. bhavat kasminn asati jātir nna bhavati kasya nirodhāj jātinirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata

7. evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva bhave asati jātir nna bhavati bhavanirodhāj jātinirodha iti

[1] Read *yaṁ*.
[2] Read °*pratyayaṁ ṣaḍāyatanaṁ*.

8. tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asati bhavo na bhavati kasya nirodhād bhavanirodha iti tasya mama yoniśoma-

9. nasikurvvata evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva upādāne sati[1] bhavo na bhavaty upādānanirodhād bhava-

10. nirodha iti tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asaty upādānaṁ na bhavati kasya nirodhād upādānanirodha iti tasya

11. mama yoniśomanasikurvvata evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva tṛṣṇāyāṁ satyām[2] upādānaṁ na bhavati

12. tṛṣṇānirodhād upādānanirodhaḥ tasya mamaitad abhavat

Brick IIIA

1. kasminn asati tṛṣṇā na bhavati kasya nirodhāt tṛṣṇānirodha iti tasya mama yoniśo-

2. manasikurvvata evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva vedanāyāṁm asatyāṁ tṛṣṇā

3. na bhavati vedanānirodhāt tṛṣṇānirodhaḥ tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asati vedanā

4. na bhavati kasya nirodhād vedanānirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata

5. evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva sparśe sati[3] vedanā na bhavati sparśani-

6. rodhād ve[danā]nirodhaḥ tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asati sparśo na bhavati kasya niro-

7. dhāt sparśanirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisa-

8. mayo babhūva ṣaḍāyatane [asat]i sparśo na bhavati ṣaḍāyatananirodhāt sparśa-

9. nirodhaḥ tasya mamai[tad abhavat] kasminn asati ṣaḍāyatanaṁ na bhavati ka[sya] nirodhāt ṣaḍā-

10. ya[tana]nirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisama-

11. yo [babh]ūva nāmarūpe asati ṣaḍāyatanaṁ na bhavati nāmarūpanirodhāt ṣaḍāyatana-

[1] Read *asati*. [2] Read *tṛṣṇāyām asatyām*. [3] Read *asati*.

12. nirodhaḥ tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asati nāma-

Brick IIIB

1. rūpaṁ na bhavati kasya nirodhān nāmarūpanirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvva-
2. ta evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva vijñāne asati nāmarūpaṁ na bhavati
3. vijñānanirodhān nāmarūpanirodhaḥ tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asati vijñā-
4. naṁ na bhavati kasya nirodhād vijñānanirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasi-
5. kurvvata evaṁ yathābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva saṁskāreṣv asatsu vijñānaṁ na bha-
6. vati[1] vijñānanirodhaḥ tasya mamaitad abhavat kasminn asati saṁskārā na bhavanti
7. kasya nirodhāt saṁskāranirodha iti tasya mama yoniśomanasikurvvata evaṁ ya-
8. thābhūtasyābhisamayo babhūva avidyāyām asatyām saṁskārā na bhavanti avidyā-
9. nirodhāt saṁskāranirodhaḥ saṁskāranirodhād vijñānanirodhaḥ vijñānanirodhān nāmarūpa-
10. nirodhaḥ nāmarūpanirodhāt ṣaḍāyatananirodhaḥ ṣaḍāyatananirodhāt sparśaniro[dhaḥ]
11. sparśanirodhād vedanānirodhaḥ vedanānirodhāt tṛṣṇānirodhaḥ tṛṣṇānirodhād upādā-
12. nanirodhaḥ upādānanirodhād bhavanirodhaḥ bhavanirodhā

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[1] *Saṁskāranirodhād* has been omitted.

A Few Corrections on Guy Le Strange's "Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane (1403–1406)"

By H. KURDIAN

IN the new edition of *Clavijo, Embassy to Tamerlane*, translated from the Spanish by Guy Le Strange (publ. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1928), I noticed several errors and offer the following in correction thereof.

(1) p. 116, etc. Zegan.—This is the existing village of Zigana on the mountain of the same name. In native Armenian or Turkish pronunciation it is Zvānā. See description in *Armenia and the Campaign of 1877*, by C. B. Norman (publ. by Cassell, Petter and Galpin, London, Paris, and New York, no date, pp. 21–2).

(2) p. 125, etc. *Taharten* the Lord of Arzinjan.—The name of this lord of Arzinjan in Clements R. Markham's translation of Clavijo (1859, London edition) is spelled *Zaratan*. Although the contemporary Armenian historian Tovmas Medzopetzi (fourteenth century) spelled it *Takhratan*, and also the author of the *History of Leng Timour*, Ahmed Arabshah of Damascus, spelled it *Tahartin*, Clements R. Markham's transliteration *Zaratan* seems to me to be nearer the original form of the name, which, according to Evliya Efendi (seventeenth century), is ZAHIR-UD-DIN (*Narrative of Evliya Efendi*, London, 1850, vol. iii, p. 202).

(3) p. 144. The Lord of Maku "was a Roman Catholic Armenian) but whose name was *Nur-ad-din*".—In his notes Guy Le Strange says, "Nur-ad-Din, the light of the (Moslem) religion, is a curious name for a christian but doubtless it had been imposed on this christian governor by Timur, as later he did in the case of the governor's son" (p. 352).

I differ with this opinion because I do not believe that Timur had anything to do with the naming of this Armenian prince or lord, Nur-ad-Din. Among the Armenian nobles of

that period, the use of Muslim names was very common. Such another was the Armenian Christian (but not Catholic) noble of Tiflis, who in the year of our Lord 1284 is mentioned by the name of Karim-ad-Din. He was the elder son of the illustrious Armenian Prince Umeg.[1]

We also find among *Armenian* princes *of the thirteenth* century such unchristian names as Hassan Chalal, Shahenshah, Assad, Djuma, Amir-Hassan, etc., all of them Armenian Christian nobles and princes. There are also a great number of Muslim female names applied to Armenian ladies of the same period.

(4) p. 329, etc. A certain Turkoman chief, *Qara Yusuf*.—Guy Le Strange in his notes says: "In the text incorrectly given as Qara Othman (Caraotoman)" (p. 363). However, Clavijo's original Qara Othman is not incorrect, as G. Le Strange states, for at this time (beginning of fifteenth century) there were two Turkoman chieftains, one the Qara Yusuf of the Qara Quyunlu (Black Sheep) Clan, and the other Qara Othman (Ossman) of the Aq Quyunlu (White Sheep) Clan. To this last one Clavijo refers in his text, but G. Le Strange tries to correct it by Qara Yusuf, perhaps because he knew not of Qara Othman.

After the death of Timur (1405), Qara Othman and Qara Yusuf warred upon one another for years. Qara Othman was the lord of Amida (Amid, Diarbekir), who attacked Arzinjan several times, and in 1417 he retook and occupied it, holding it until 1435.

Clavijo states that Qara Othman was a "vassal" of Timur, but if we change the name to Qara Yusuf, as Guy Le Strange would have us do, we find that Qara Yusuf was never a vassal of Timur, but, on the contrary, an arch enemy of Timur, against whom he always fought, as did Sultan Ahmed Jalair. Both of these eventually had to flee the country to escape Timur. They were first sheltered by Sultan Bayazid of Turkey

[1] [*A collection of such laqabs taken by or given to Christians was published in the Mashriq* by Habib Zayab.]

(captured by Timur in the battle of Angora, 20th July, 1402), but eventually they were forced to flee to Egypt, where they evidently remained until the death of Timur in 1405. Qara Yusuf did not appear in Armenia until a year or so after Timur's death.

(5) p. 331, etc. Alashkert (a town in Armenia).—Le Strange in his notes states: "The exact position of Alashkert remains to be identified" (p. 363). But the position of Alashkert is easily identified. The city of Alashkert, through which Clavijo passed on his return journey (1st September, 1405), is marked on modern maps as Toprak Kala in the valley of Alashkert. In ancient Armenian history it was known as Vagharshakerd, being built by the Armenian King Vagharsh, in the second century. The town is fortified with walls and a castle, and stands at the foot of Sougav mountain in the province of Pakrevant of ancient Armenia. It is situated in a pleasant and well watered position, some 5,950 feet above sea-level, and was inhabited in 1914 by some 700 families, of which only 250 were Armenian.

(6) pp. 331–2. Clavijo narrates a story which he had heard in Alashkert. "In this country of Great Armenia there had been formerly a famous and very powerful king, the lord of the whole land, who at the time of his death left three sons: and he had by his will divided Armenia among the three after this fashion. To his eldest son he had left this city of Alashkert with adjacent lands; to his next son he had left Ani city, with its province, and to his third son Erzerum; these cities aforesaid being the three capital towns of Armenia. The eldest son seeing that he possessed Alashkert, the strongest place in all the land, forthwith tried to dispossess his two brothers of their inheritance, and open war broke out between the three. The war being at its worst, each party now sought an ally to aid him against his rivals; and the brother who was lord of Erzerum brought in that lawless Moslem folk, namely those Turkomans (already frequently mentioned). Then the lord of Ani for aid and to

do the like joined him of Erzerum and they two fell on their elder brother the lord of Alashkert, each with allies from among the Turkomans. Seeing and fearing these Turkomans the lord of Alashkert took counsel with himself and to do likewise for foreign aid called in that Moslem folk who were his neighbours, namely the Turks of the border. These Turks, however, had their language in common with the Turkomans already spoken of, who were the allies of the other two brothers, and they of one tongue making common cause, came to an understanding to take for themselves that city of Alashkert, putting its lord to death and leaving it in ruin. This done they slew both the other brothers, devastating their cities of Ani and Erzerum with the adjacent lands. Thus it was that the Moslems had come in and now held all Armenia ; for when they had conquered the cities they put to death most of the Christian Armenians who were the inhabitants, and their places had not since been occupied."

About Clavijo's story, Guy Le Strange says in his notes, "Armenian Historians make no special mention of this king and his three sons, but presumably it was Leo V, the last of the Rubenian dynasty, of whom Clavijo tells the story. See *History of Armenia*, by N. Y. Gregor, p. 182" (p. 363).

Guy Le Strange's assumption, as also the rest of his notes, requires corrections. Firstly, Leo V (1375) was not king of Greater Armenia, but of the Lesser Armenia (Cilicia). Secondly, he was not of the Rubenian dynasty, but of the Lussignian dynasty of Cyprus. Leo V (sometimes known as VI) became King of Lesser Armenia (Cilicia) by marriage, and only for a year or so. He died without issue.

Perhaps by Leo V, Guy Le Strange refers to the Leo IV (sometimes known as V), who was King of Lesser Armenia (Cilicia) during the years 1320–1342. He also was not of the Rubenian dynasty, but the Baberonian or Gorigossian dynasty. Leo IV died without leaving an heir, and had only one daughter, Zabel or Zablun, who married Amorry Lussignian.

The Rubenian dynasty at first was a dynasty of "princes",

of which the last was Leo II, who later became "King" of the territory of Lesser Armenia (Cilicia) as the first Rubenian king, taking the title of Leo I, King of Armenia (1196–1219). As "prince" he was Leo II (1186–1196). Leo I also died without issue.

Besides, Clavijo's story is told of Greater Armenia, which never had a Leo as a king.

It is my opinion that we cannot accept Clavijo's story literally, but as a legend in which the downfall of Greater Armenia was caused by jealousy, treachery, and wars among "three brothers", that is, among Armenians themselves.

The *Father king* mentioned in the story is Armenia itself; the succeeding *sons* were the three Armenian dynasties of Greater Armenia that ruled simultaneously, and unfortunately with very little harmony. Those three dynasties were: first, the Pakraduni dynasty that ruled, with its kings and princes, in Eastern Armenia, the capital being Ani; second, the Ardzruni dynasty that ruled in Southern Armenia in the region around Lake Van, including Alashkert; and third the Garutz dynasty that ruled in Western Armenia, the capital being Kars. Of course it should be remembered that this legend cannot have historical and geographical accuracy; the boundaries of the above-mentioned dynasties are blurred, and the legend, when heard by Clavijo from the people (probably Armenian narrators) of Alashkert, was already three or four centuries old, for the last kingdom of Greater Armenia was demolished or disintegrated by immigration in the eleventh century.

(7) p. 334. Tartum.—About this castle and city Guy Le Strange in his notes says, "Tartum (its exact position unknown) lies on the borders of Georgia and is spoken of by Ali of Yezd, who describes the siege" (p. 363). However, there is nothing uncertain about the location of Tartum or Tortum, because it still exists as a town on its ancient site. On almost any map one finds a small lake Tortum,

and also a river of the same name which, it is said, has beautiful falls, and had high cascades (the highest in the world). Tartum or Tortum was known in ancient Armenia as Vokaghe, and was (and still is) a castle with a little town below it. In the old days the entire population was made up of Christian Armenians, but when the Turks captured it in 1514, they used force to convert them to Islām, and many of them were converted to the new religion. All the castles near Tartum and in the surrounding region were captured by the Turks in 1548, but we still hear of large numbers of Christian Armenians in that territory as late as 1590. According to the contemporary Armenian historian, Hagop Garnetzi, a Turk named Djafar Molla became the census taker and tax-gatherer, and imposed such unbearable taxes on the Christian Armenians that they were forced to embrace Islām, which was the only means of escape, as their countrymen had found much earlier. These sad activities of the Turks re-occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

(8) p. 334. Ispir.—In Armenian this is known as Sсber. Strabo in his Geography (?20–10 B.C.) mentions this area as the Syspiritis, where, according to him, Alexander the Great sent his general Menon to seek gold, but Menon was killed by the natives. Strabo states that Syspiritis was a region with mines of gold and other metals.

Ispir (Syspiritis, Ssber) is easily located on the maps, in the vilayet of Erzerum, on the river Djorogh.

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Some Rare Manuscripts in Istanbul

By VIQAR AHMED HAMDANI

IN search of fresh material for the history of the Saljūqs of 'Irāq I had the good fortune, during my stay in Istanbul[1] from the middle of September, 1937, till the end of January, 1938, to find and study many MSS., both in Arabic and Persian. I propose to give here a bare inventory of some of these MSS. to bring them to the notice of interested Orientalists, with little or no attempt at scholarly presentation, as my entire time, at present, is occupied with the subject mentioned above. But I hope to contribute a detailed study of the same at a later date.

History of Nīshāpūr, by Imām Ḥākim Shaykh Abū 'Abdallāh al-Bayyi'. Brockelmann (i, Supp. 277) makes a brief mention of it. Barthold (*Turkestan*, p. 16) gives a longer account from Ḥājjī Khalīfa where "Ḥakīm" is an obvious misprint for "Ḥākim". Now I happened to discover a digest of it in one of the mosque-libraries of Brusa. It is a manuscript 24 cm. by 16 cm. in fair *naskhī* with 21 lines to the page; it contains only 78 folios. Its author, whose identity I have not been able to establish so far, says in his brief introduction that Imām Ḥākim wrote a history of Nīshāpūr in A.H. 388, and then gives a short analysis of the work which, in effect, is the same as that of Ḥ.Kh. He goes on to say that Ḥākim added a supplement to his work, giving therein a geographical account of the place. The author adds that he abridged the work and that, now, he is presenting a Persian translation of his abridgment.

The digest contains a complete list of all the personages mentioned in the original work, with occasional brief notices

[1] I owe my grateful thanks to all my friends in Istanbul, Professors Köprülüzade, Ritter, Sharafaddin, and Mukramin Halil, and librarians and students who made my stay both pleasant and profitable.

of the very famous people (e.g. Imām Muslim, fol. 16*b*). On fol. 54*b* he says that Ḥākim completed his biographical work in Ramaḍān, 388, and that he added a supplement to it forty years later, giving an account of his masters and contemporaries.

It is followed, after one or two blank pages, by an abridgment presumably by another hand, of one Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain al-Khalīfa, who says that he has omitted the *isnād* of the historical and geographical portion. Later on there follows a selection from the *Ṭabaqāt* of al-Sulamī by the same Khalīfa.

Köprülü. 1152 (see Brock., i, supp. 623) is a "*Muntakhab*" of *Kitāb al-Siyāq* of 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, which is a supplement to the above-mentioned *Ta'rīkh Nīshāpūr*. I am preparing an edition of both these works for publication later on.

History of Ḥalab (Brock., i, supp. 568), Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-ṭalab fi ta'rīkh Ḥalab*. In Istanbul a set of ten volumes is distributed between three different collections. A.S. 3036 is perhaps one of the earlier volumes, but its first few folios are hopelessly mixed up and probably contain a few folios from *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* of the same author.

Aḥmad Thālith 2925 contains eight volumes of the same work. Paris 2139 is identical with the third of these eight. Faiz. 1404 supplies another volume. But the set is by no means complete. The question of its being an autograph, as has been clearly written on the fly leaf of some of these MSS., I have fully discussed along with a study of its main sources and a complete list of all the biographical notices found in the above volumes in a paper to be shortly published.

Ra's Māl al-Nadīm (see Brock., i, supp. 586) is another historical work of value. Yeni Jāmi' 234 (size, 27 cm. by 18 cm., 17 lines, 211 folios) is an autograph. Nūr Osmāniya 3296 (24 cm. by 16 cm., 165 folios) is dated Saturday, 9th. Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 539, and the copyist is given as Abū Bakr 'Ubaid Allāh b. Abī Sa'd. The author is Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b.

'Alī b. Bāba al-Qāshī. Brockelmann is obviously wrong in calling him "Bānī", so is Bankipore, xv, 1044, in quoting from Ṣafadī as "Bāna". Ibn Bāba has been quoted by two writers, Ibn al-'Adīm and Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, 90), who gives him wrongly as "al-Qābisi".

Now this handbook was composed in Ramaḍān, 501, and completed on the 10th of the following month for his princely pupil, Sa'd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Bahrām b. 'Alī. It contains, *inter alia*, an account of the Khilāfat till al-Qā'im with a bare mention of the names of his two successors, followed by brief notices of the Imāms of the Shī'a and the Bāṭiniyya and the Ṭāhirī, Sāmānī, Dailamī, and Ghaznawī dynasties. He does not include the Saljūqs in the present work, saying that he has resolved to write a separate book on the origin and rise of the Saljūqs in Khurāsān, 'Irāq, Rūm, Shām, Fārs, and Ḥijāz down to his own times. It seems that the author belonged to the class of professional entertainers in 'Irāq, whence he travelled to Khurāsān where he had cause to deplore the prostitution of his profession. His threefold division of the entertainers is wrongly taken by the Bankipore cataloguer to apply to the people of Khurāsān in general, as our MSS. clearly say: "On entering Khurāsān I found those catering for the social entertainment of the viziers and the nobles divided into three classes." Nothing more is known about the author and his patron.

Nasā'im al-asḥār (A.S. 3487) is a valuable history of the Viziers in Persian [1] completed on the last day of Ṣafar, 725. The author, who does not name himself in the work, claims that his book is the first of its kind. Bodleian, Éthé, 347, *Āthār al-wuzarā*, gives our work as one of its sources. On detailed comparison I found the latter to have used our work wholesale and almost *verbatim*.

An older copy of the famous *Mujmal al-tawārīkh wa-'l-qiṣaṣ* (see Storey, ii, 67–8) is found in the rich private collection of

[1] Dr. Tauer's comprehensive work *Les Manuscrits Persans Historiques des Bibliothèques de Stamboul* does not seem to mention it.

Köprülüzade Fuad Bey, who very kindly permitted me to consult it in his comfortable study. It is nearly fifty years older than the Paris MS. The colophon gives Muḥammad b. Talkāwī as the copyist, and dates it on Sunday, 14th Shawwāl, 751. (Size, 26 cm. by 18 cm., 21 lines.) It supplies many good readings to the defective Paris MS. Its publication was promised by two famous French scholars, but unfortunately it has not seen the light of day. I am happy to record that Fuad Bey has very kindly consented to lend it to me in order to prepare an edition of it, and also to contribute a preface in French dealing with the history of the manuscript.

Fables

Sindbād-nāma ('Ashir 861; and in Bayazid Kutubkhāna, Amasia).[1] Amasia MS. is the older of the two, and is dated A.H. 605. The other is dated 5, Rabī' i, 985. It is needless to add any more details as Professor H. Ritter has planned to publish it.

Kalīla wa-Dimna by Naṣrullāh (Jārullāh 1727) is to my mind the oldest manuscript of the book available. It was copied by Maḥmūd b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Naṣr al-Ṭabarī, completed on the morning of Thursday, 27th Muḥarram, 551.

Now the Persian scholar Mirzā 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Khān Gurkānī in his edition of the work has worked out the approximate date of its composition, and has placed it between A.H. 536 and 539. Thus our manuscript, though in a very bad condition, containing 327 pages (24 cm. by 15 cm.) in legible *ta'līq* is of the utmost value in establishing the correct readings. It proves beyond doubt that the fresh stories added by the learned Persian editor formed no part of Naṣrullah's text.

I hope to deal with the MSS. of the *dīwāns* of Amīr Khusrau, Ibn Yamīn, Awḥad al-Dīn of Kirmān, and his pupils, Awḥadī and 'Irāqī, and Mīr 'Alī Sher Fānī, on some other occasion.

P.S. Later I have found a notice of Ibn Bāba in Yāqūt's *Irshād*, I. 230, where he is vaguely called Lawah or Ibn Lawah.

[1] I owe this information to Professor Ritter.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near East

Neuarmenische Grammatik, Ost- und Westarmenisch mit Lesestucken und einem Wörterverzeichniss. By Dr. Artasches Abeghian. Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin: Band XXXVI. 8 × 6, pp. x + 292. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1936. 10 RM.

The few Europeans who have studied Armenian have usually concentrated their attention on the classical language, which is of importance for both patristic and Classical Greek studies; since all Armenians are said to be bilingual, and many of them are marvellous linguists, communication with them has usually been possible in some more familiar language. The list of works enumerated at the commencement of this volume includes, however, some in English, French, German, and Italian, besides many in Armenian; one in the last language, by Kirejjian, Constantinople, 1864, is not found in this list. The present work deals with both the literary dialects, using separate types for each; there are very considerable differences between the two dialects, e.g. the form used for the present tense in the Eastern (Turkish) dialect is employed for the future in the Western (Russian). Dr. Abeghian's treatment of the subject is very full and thorough, and includes an ample chrestomathy containing extracts from works in both dialects, both in prose and verse. Perhaps more than one specimen might have been given of the writings of Raffi, who is at the head of Armenian novelists. Also an example of the phonetic orthography used by some modern writers would have been welcome.

A traveller in Armenia (before the War) heard great varieties in pronunciation, and minute differences between certain pairs of letters seemed to be better preserved in the Western

than in the Eastern dialect. Thus I have found a Turkish-Armenian confuse *անձ-* with *անց-*, which a Russian-Armenian would probably distinguish. Some account of the consonants by an expert in phonetics would have added to the value of the work, which otherwise both in content and arrangement is admirably adapted to the needs of students.

A. 976. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

RECHERCHES SUR VICINA ET CETATEA ALBA. By G. I. BRĂTIANU. Universitatea din Iași: Contribution à l'Histoire de la Domination Byzantine et Tatare et du Commerce Génois sur le Littoral Roumain de la Mer Noire. 10 × 7½, pp. 193, pls. 2. Bucharest: Paul Geuthner, 1935. Frs. 20.

This volume inaugurates a series of historical monographs to be issued by the University of Jassy, in Roumania. The general editor of the series is Professor G. I. Brătianu, who is also the author of the initial treatise.

The present work deals with the history of two ports on the coast of the Black Sea, named Vicina and Albă respectively. The author traces the history of the former from the end of the eleventh to the middle of the fifteenth century, and demonstrates its importance for the commercial history of the Levant in the Middle Ages. He shows further that it has often been confused by ancient writers with Vezina at the mouth of the Kamčyk, and that this confusion has vitiated a great deal of what has been said about it.

After discussing certain hitherto neglected sources of information concerning the history of Albă (Akkerman) on the Black Sea, the author passes on to a review of Balkan ethnography in the Middle Ages, dealing especially with medieval references to the Bulgars and Wallachians, with especial reference to the Romance of Troy (Dictys and Dares) and to a passage in Robert of Claris's chronicle on the conquest of Constantinople. This portion of the book will probably

prove of the widest general interest, the rest being somewhat limited in appeal.

A cordial welcome will be extended to this new series, and it is gratifying to see that the editor has preferred to present it in French, rather than in Rumanian, thus ensuring a wider circulation.

A. 634. T. H. Gaster.

Le Champ des Roseaux et le Champ des Offrandes. By Raymond Weill. Études d'Égyptologie. 10 × 6¼, pp. xi + 176, figs. 2. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936.

The researches, the results of which appear here, were begun by M. Raymond Weill with the object of discovering the meaning of a unique and enigmatic hieroglyph in a text of the Old Kingdom in the Cairo Museum, which Professor J. Capart published in *Kêmi*, ii, 1, 2, as a challenge to scholars, under the title "Un hiéroglyphe mystérieux". The sign in question represents a man leaping upon a bull in the Cretan fashion, the bull standing upon an inclined plane marked with zigzag lines to represent water. At a later date in the same periodical (*Kêmi*, iv, 190) M. Capart published in a short note a passage from the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 1359), which runs, *ḏꜣ .k kꜣ wr ir sḫt wꜣḏt* . . . "Mayest thou cross over . . . the Great Bull to the green field," and suggested on the evidence of this passage that the enigmatic hieroglyph should be understood as representing the deceased mounting upon the bull's back in order to be carried by it across the intervening water to the "Field of Offerings". A more complete version (Pyr. 792), however, deterred M. Weill from accepting this explanation. Here the text, which reads *ḏꜣ .k m kꜣ wr* . . ., etc., supplies the missing preposition *m* and clearly shows the meaning of the phrase to be "Mayest thou cross over by means of the Great Bull". There seems, therefore, little to prevent the mysterious hieroglyph in the original text from being interpreted as *ḏꜣ .f m kꜣ wr*, "May he cross over by means of the Great Bull," but M. Weill will have none of this,

and decides that the sign is to be rendered "vainqueur du taureau", *dwnty* (p. 36), the bull in this case being the guardian of the entrance to the "Field of Offerings".

As to the general conclusions reached, M. Weill finds that the "Field of Reeds" and the "Field of Offerings" were identified respectively with the East and the West, the points of the rising and setting of the sun, and goes on to show that Osiris was an intruder into the domains of the sky. The analytical summary on pp. 158–163 is useful for following out the steps by which M. Weill's conclusions were arrived at.

On p. 7 the quotation from *Hier. Texts Br. Mus.*, i, pl. 30, though correct as far as that publication is concerned, nevertheless does not quote the original. This has *imꜣḫwy mꜣʿ-ḫrw ḥr.s m ḥtp*, etc., as reference to part vi, pl. 1, of the same work would have shown, the architrave in question having been published there later in an emended form. Incidentally, M. Weill's interpretation here of *ḫpp(t)* as an infinitive leads him into perilous waters. Surely the accepted rendering of these passages is "May he walk upon the goodly ways whereon the revered ones walk,"  being generally understood to be a verb not *secundae geminatae* but *tertiae infirmae*

A. 648. M. F. Laming Macadam.

Persian Literature, a Bio-bibliographical Survey. Section II, Fasciculus 2: Special Histories of Persia, Central Asia, and the remaining parts of the World except India. By C. A. Storey. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 195. London: Luzac, 1936.

This is the third instalment of Professor Storey's valuable work. It contains an account of all Persian works dealing with the history of the countries named; the large and important class of writings concerned with Indian history will be the subject of the next fasciculus. Certain histories which deal mainly with Persia—such as the Ḥabību's-siyar and Qipchāqkhān—are to be found in the first fasciculus,

because their scope may be said to extend beyond Persia and its immediate neighbours. As if to make up for this we have here a number of authors, who would, perhaps, find a better place among the poets. The writers of the various Shāhnāmas, Tīmūrnāmas, etc., are scarcely historians. Qāsim-i-Gūnābādī, for example (who seems to have died in A.H. 982), was a mere panegyrist, and Bannā'ī (Professor Storey prefers Binā'ī) was certainly considered just a poet —to judge from Bābur's amusing reference to him.

Like its predecessors this fascicules is excellently printed, and a careful reading has failed to discover any misprints, unless Ghilzah Afghāns, on p. 319, is a mistake for Ghilzai. It is a question whether Shanb-i-Ghāzān (p. 278) is correct; Riẓā Qulī Khān in the Farhang-i-Nāṣirī spells the word Shumb. Other poets besides Sa'dī write qaṣīdas in praise of Juwaynī—Ẓu'l-Faqār for example. The autobiography of the Amīr 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān (p. 406) has also been repeatde by the Fayẓ-rasān Press of Bombay in a lithographed edition prepared by M. Ja'far Mawlā and M. Ḥusayn Lārī, A.H. 1322. Of the contents of the Majma'u'l-inshā (p. 317) a description of the Turkish letters only is given in Rieu's Turkish Catalogue; the Persian Catalogue describes the Persian letters. The letters, by the way, contain examples which, if indeed they are really what they purport to be, should be worthy of careful study, and might easily throw fresh light on matters of great historical interest. One would like to know whether we have genuine letters written by Ghazālī to the Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, by Uzūn Ḥasan to Sulṭān Ḥusayn, by Ṭahmāsp to the Turkish Sulṭāns and Indian Emperors, and so on.

It may be feared that we shall have to wait some years for the completion of Professor Storey's work. Only then can we expect the indices which will facilitate the proper use of it. Without an index of authors, and another of the names of books, it will be a little difficult to use the survey as such a work of reference should be used.

A. 800. C. N. SEDDON.

Far East

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER IN CHINA. By T'ANG LEANG-LI. 9½ × 6½, pp. xi + 282. Shanghai: China United Press, 1936. $8·50. London: Kegan Paul, 15s.

This is one of those books that improve as the author warms to his subject. The account of Chinese civilization in the remote past, discussed in the earlier chapters, has been done more convincingly by other hands. Mr. T'ang has evidently not kept abreast of modern scholarship, or he would not speak of Lao Tzŭ, that most shadowy of figures, as having been "born about 590 B.C." or as having received a visit from Confucius in 518. His opinion of Confucius seems to waver a good deal, but in several passages he is decidedly unfair to the great Teacher. Simply because he has neglected to sift his authorities, he is capable of writing in this strain: "The people were to be kept in ignorance and ruled by fear; Confucius even condoned torture, and referred it back to the all-wise ancients." There is nothing in the *Lun Yü* (our only reliable source of information about Confucius) that gives the least countenance to such a statement. According to Mr. T'ang, Confucius also drew up "an intolerably elaborate code of rules, prescribing with rigidity and in minute detail every phase of human activity". Several sayings in the *Lun Yü* go to prove, on the contrary, that Confucius' instincts were all for simplicity and not elaboration in ceremonial. "A man without charity in his heart," he once exclaimed, "what has he to do with ceremonies?" That "ancestor-worship and filial piety form the foundation of Confucian philosophy" is another totally wrong conception. Filial piety holds no prominent place in his recorded sayings, and ancestor-worship has really nothing whatever to do with his teaching. It was in existence long before his time, and he seems to have tolerated the practice, but nothing more.

The tone of the book improves, as I have said, in the later chapters, and the author even finds some good to say of

Confucius. He writes very wisely on women's place in the social scheme, and justly points out that her position was never so low in the past as superficial observers would have us believe. In fact, it is probable that Chinese women enjoyed as many rights and privileges as their sisters in the West before the nineteenth-century movement for emancipation began. Sino-foreign relations are discussed with conspicuous moderation, and not all the blame for the somewhat humiliating position in which China finds herself to-day is laid at the door of the Western nations.

Thanks to its having been printed in China, the text is liberally interspersed with characters where these seem to be required; but the transliteration is by no means all it should be, and aspirates are consistently ignored—except in the author's own name.

A. 793 LIONEL GILES.

MANGHOL UN NIUCA TOBCA'AN (Yüan Ch'ao Pi-shi). Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen. Edited by ERICH HAENISCH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 140, figs. 2. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1937.

The Secret History of the Mongols is one of the most romantic original historical books in the world, though it must be admitted that it owes part of its romance to the adventitious fact that unofficial historical works in China are called "secret" without any real secrecy attaching to them.

Written in A.D. 1240 by an unknown author or authors in the Mongol script from derived Uighur, this book starts with the legendary story of the birth of Chinggis Khān and carries the history down to the death of Ögödei. It is, apart from one or two letters in the Uighur script, and one or two inscriptions in the P'ags·pa script, by far the oldest work in Mongol, and also by far the most important. The original text in Mongol script was used by Rashīd ed-Dīn as one of the sources of his *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh*, but has long since been

lost. The whole book was painstakingly transliterated into Chinese characters, with an abbreviated Chinese translation, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and then completely forgotten. The first Western scholar to discover it was the Archimandrite Palladius in A.D. 1872, but it was left to Dr. Haenisch to publish it in transcription for the first time in the present volume. In its present form, that is as a Mongol text with a table of variant readings and a few notes, it cannot hope to appeal to a wide public, but Dr. Haenisch in his preface says that he has already completed a vocabulary and a German translation; and this will be eagerly awaited by those scholars who have not the time or patience to disentangle the original text with the assistance of the existing dictionaries in Mongol script.

A. 912. G. L. M. CLAUSON.

INTRODUCTION TO LITERARY CHINESE. By J. J. BRANDT. Second edition. 9 × 6, pp. xi + 352. Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1936, 21*s*.

This is a most useful book, and it is not surprising to find it already in a second edition. It is divided into forty lessons, each of which includes one or more pieces of Chinese prose, with vocabulary, translation, and notes. The texts are of a varied character, comprising short stories, essays, official documents of different kinds, newspaper articles, and family letters—all selected with great judgment. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the book is a large number of "grammatical sections", giving examples of Chinese particles and their use in composition. These cannot but help the student greatly, though the wholesale introduction of European grammatical terms is to be deprecated, and the minute classification of particles as "intensifying", "equalizing", "limiting", "adversative", "assimilative", and so forth, strikes one as rather overstrained. Professor Schlegel of Leiden once spoke on this subject with no uncertain voice:

"Lisez, lisez, lisez," he said to his pupils, "jetez vos grammaires au feu."

Several improvements have been made in this new edition, such as the insertion of page references in the index of characters; on the other hand, the type is smaller and the page much more compressed, which is surely a step in the wrong direction. A few points still needing correction may be noted: P. 58, 離 in No. 15 does not mean "to separate", but "to fall into", and 離亂 is "to *encounter* civil war". P. 62, 曾, so far as I know, can never mean "but", "and yet". Here it simply serves to strengthen the negative (並不 in the spoken language). P. 69, col. 2, for 士 read 土. P. 72, col. 1, it is absurd to label 以 as a pronoun, for it might just as well be called a verb. But why try to force it into any hard-and-fast grammatical scheme? P. 74, the title of the story should be, not "An unusual gem", but "Different kinds of gem", as appears from the context. P. 80, col. 4, 澤主 seems to be a misprint for 澤中. P. 83, for 宼 in the Vocabulary read 寇. P. 130, 鑿 should be read *tso*⁴, not *tsan*⁴.

A 785. LIONEL GILES.

THE CRUCIAL YEARS OF EARLY ANGLO-CHINESE RELATIONS, 1750–1800. By EARL H. PRITCHARD, Research Studies of the State College of Washington, Volume IV, Nos. 3–4. 10 × 6¾, pp. 442, figs. 7. Pullman, Washington: September and December, 1936.

This volume is an important contribution to our knowledge concerning a period of British relations with China which is often in much dispute. Dr. Pritchard, a former Rhodes scholar, has laid us under a debt by this thorough and well-documentated analysis of what he truly calls Crucial Years. By 1750 the East India Company had established itself in Canton, but was suffering much difficulty and hardship: his theme concerns the causes which led to the attempt by

Britain to remedy matters, by establishing diplomatic relations directly with the Emperor in Peking, first with the ill-fated Cathcart, then the Macartney Embassy, in 1793.

Dr. Pritchard has spared no trouble in sifting reports and manuscripts, either at the India Office and the British Museum, or in his own country. For in Cornell University Library is a remarkable accumulation, the Wason Collection, of Macartney and other Papers relevant to the China affairs of that era. When one remembers, also, that the fracas in Boston Harbour was due to the matter of China tea, it is not surprising that an American student of historical research should be interested. In his Preface, Dr. Pritchard explains that his great predecessor and " master ", Dr. Hosea Ballou Morse (whose name must always be remembered in R.A.S. circles), when he summarized the doings of these years 1750–1800 in his standard work, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, did not have access to the Wason Collection. Moreover, five volumes of the letters sent from the Court of the East India Company Directors to their supercargoes in China have been added to the India Office since Dr. Morse wrote, the greater part dealing with the two Embassies. Dr. Pritchard brings out the " tangle " of events of those years, into which short span events and personalities were indeed crowded. There was the American War of Independence, with Lord North and Chatham in conflict; the French Revolution, the rise of Napoleon, and the consequent war; the Industrial Revolution in England, and Arkwright's Spinning Jenny; the unwillingness of the Chinese to buy woollen goods from England but their willingness to buy opium from India; Russia's threat of war on China's north, and trouble in Tongking in her south. It sounds quite modern. Indeed the Chinese Throne's aversion to receiving Lord Macartney may partly have been due to a rumour that England had eyes on Tibet, and was having an affair in Nepal as a start-off, which rumour a hundred years later still prevailed in Peking. Yet it was also during those fifty

years that we had the introduction of Chinese garden arts into England, as witness Kew; and of her furniture, which inspired Chippendale. In China, however, it was a fateful era, for in it she crystallized and hardened, and tied foreign trade and intercourse down with shackles and fetters which galled and fretted intolerably.

After a historical survey which begins with the East India Company, founded because the Dutch raised unconscionably the price of pepper from 3*s*. to 6*s*. and 8*s*. a lb., Dr. Pritchard gives a couple of hundred pages to the questions and conditions of trade; and his figures and charts will be very valuable to the student. The next part of the book is of more interest for the ordinary reader, and is written in an easy style. It is of some comfort to find that the newest and trustworthy researchers into our Anglo-Chinese relationships, like Dr. Pritchard and Mr. Costin, seem to come to the same conclusions as those of the earlier standard historians of our youth. Macartney, says Dr. Pritchard, did not make the kowtow. His Mission was a genuine, expensive, and patient attempt on the part of Britain to seek Chinese recognition by friendly diplomacy. He ends his book on the note:

> "Either England would have to conform her commercial desires to the restraints of that (co-hong) system, or she would have to use more potent arguments . . . to bring the exclusive, self-important, and superior-feeling Manchu administration to her terms."

One could wish that the figures in the Appendices, of the goods imported and exported, were printed more clearly in an otherwise well-printed book. The Index is good. The very full Bibliography shows a wide and discerning list of sources. One misprint: the Bodleian is spelled with an "i". But Oxford University, and the Professor who suggested these Crucial Years for study, could have nothing but satisfaction in this scholarly transatlantic study of England's early relations with China.

A. 828. DOROTHEA HOSIE.

She Was a Queen. By Maurice Collis. 9 × 6, pp. 301, map 1, ills. 17. London: Faber & Faber, 1937. 15s.

"She had a dazzling appearance. Her hair was done in a high looped knot, scented and jewelled, her eyebrows plucked, her whole face carefully powdered. She wore a jacket of India lawn, as fine as gossamer, white and peaked out at the shoulders and hips, cut with a lively rhythm, admirably fitted. Her arms showed through it and her breast, a golden colour. The old rose of her skirt was soft as sleep. Sitting sideways on a carpet, one arm supporting her weight, the elbow bent in against the joint like a bow, the other hand on her thigh, a large emerald on a tiny finger, she was so striking with her gracious face that the women fell back to admire her and, apt as they were at easy flattery, spoke from the heart when they uttered, 'Lovely lady, we worship you.'"

Those who have read Mr. Collis's account of that delightful rogue Siamese White of Mergui, now a port in Burma, will expect and find rich entertainment in this story of a queen to two successive Burmese kings of the thirteenth century. Mr. Collis uses his intimate knowledge of Burmese custom and character to add colourful and often amusing detail to the brief narrative in the Burmese chronicle, itself not altogether without humour. He receives some help from Marco Polo, and more, perhaps, from his imagination, for the graphic and precise description of the Tartar embassy fighting its way to its boats at Păgan is not to be found in the Society's copy of the Book of Marco Polo, who is said to have been present. (The spelling Pagăn, adopted by Mr. Collis, is inappropriate, for the second *a* is short and forward.) Mr. Collis has assumed—and no one can challenge the assumption—that Burmese social life in the thirteenth century hardly differed from that of the present day outside the towns, and he uses his remarkable command of English to make his actors live before his readers. There is a masterly drawing of

the character of the childish and neurotic king who tried to live down by boastfulness and cruelty the nickname of "dog's excrement" applied to him in his youth by his own father.

A. 837. R. GRANT BROWN.

Middle East

SAṂDHINIRMOCANA SŪTRA, L'EXPLICATION DES MYSTÈRES; TEXTE TIBÉTAIN. Edité et traduit par ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE. Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie. 3e série, 34e fasc. 10 × 6½, pp. 278. Louvain: Bureau du Recueil, 1935.

A pupil of Louis de La Vallée Poussin, the author belongs to that Franco-Belgian school of Sinologues, Tibetologues, and Sanskritists who, concurrently with Russian and Japanese scholars, have done much to enlarge our knowledge of the Sanskrit-Mahāyāna Buddhism, indirect sources of which have been, to a considerable extent, preserved in the monasteries of the secluded regions of the Tibetan highlands. Here the very seclusion of the place has acted, in a sense, as did the sand of the desert and the volcanic lava in hiding from the destructive forces of the times Tun-huang, Herculanum, Leptis Magna, etc. The reconstruction of the Sanskrit originals has been greatly facilitated by the character of the Tibetan translations which are almost literal, too literal indeed to be good Tibetan. Thus, with the additional help of five Chinese sources, it has been possible for M. Lamotte to give in his annotations the Sanskrit equivalents of the essential passages and terms of the texts in hand.

Aside from the general gains connected with this method of reconstruction through comparison of extra-Indian sources, the present edition of the text together with its French translation derives special significance from the fact that the section of the Yogācāryābhūmi, called Nirṇayasaṃgraha, cites at full length passages taken from all the chapters of

the Saṃdhinirmocana and explains them in detail (p. 16, lines 17–19). As the author claims in his preface, the Saṃdhinirmocana is a complete résumé of the Mahāyāna of the first centuries of our era (p. 24, lines 15–17). "We believe we have established that the Saṃdhinirmocana serves as connecting link between the Prajñāpāramitā and the beginnings of the Yogācāra Vijñānavāda school" (ibid., lines 23–6). As such the text centres round the various problems bound up with the ontological nature of the Dharmas as well as those relating to their approachableness through perception.

The elaborate description of the psychological attitude of the initiated ("opérant") is a further subject for investigation.

Whether the translation, i.e. interpretation, of the title "Explications des *Mystères*" is wholly adequate remains, despite the author's careful consideration, a matter of opinion. We are here concerned with the fundamental problem of whether the essence of these early Mahāyāna texts is psychological and epistemological, or if it is mystical and irrational.

A. 577. BETTY HEIMANN.

CONTRIBUTIONS À LA DIALECTOLOGIE IRANIENNE, II : Dialectes de la Région de Sèmnān. By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-Filologiske Meddelelser, XXI, 3. 9½ × 6½, pp. 197. København : Levin & Munksgaard, 1935. D.Kr. 9.50.

In the autumn of 1934 Professor Christensen spent ten days in the neighbourhood of Semnān (*circa* 225 km. to the east of Tehrān) in order to complete his previous studies (1915) on Semnānī. The new material collected by him contains specimens of the dialects spoken in the villages of Sorkhe, Lāsgerd, Sangsar, and Shamerzād. This oasis of vernaculars belonging to the northern Persian (Parthian) group has long attracted the attention of explorers. Some particular traits of Semnānī are found in several dialects spoken a long distance farther west in the Zagros mountains

and Kurdistan, and this fact may be connected with the migrations of tribes during the middle period of Persian history.

As the knowledge of rustic dialects of Iran progresses (see H. W. Bailey, in *Enc. of Islām*, iii, under *Persia, Language*), it becomes more and more evident that each of them in their isolation has experienced numerous influences which considerably complicate the task of classification. However, Professor Christensen has come to the following conclusions: "la région de Sèmnān nous offre trois dialectes distincts, le sèmnānī, le sàngesāri et le sourkhéī-lāsguerdī, qui se rapprochent aux dialectes de la région entre Kāchān et Isfahān, et un dialecte, le chāmerzàdī qui est apparenté au māzanderānī" (p. 22). All this on a very limited area!

With regard to the formative *hà-* used in Shamerzādī (p. 18): *hà-komma, hà-kārdam* (= Persian *mī-konam, kārdām*) it is curious that already in the tenth century A.D. al-Muqaddasī, *BGA.*, iii, 368, mentioned as a peculiarity of the language of Kūmis (to which Semnān belonged) such imperatives as *hā-dih* "give!" and *hā-kun* "do!". The *Tāzīk-ı Semnān* are mentioned in the history of Shāh 'Abbās I, *'Ālam-ārā*, p. 369_{20}. The title of Professor Christensen's informer, p. 9, in colloquial Persian ought to be transcribed **Mo'tamed* [*ol*]-*Atebbā*.

A 605 V. MINORSKY.

DIE WERTUNG DES TIERES IN DER ZARATHUŠTRISCHEN RELIGION. By WOLFGANG VOIGT. 9½ × 6¼, pp. 61. Munich: E. Reinhardt, 1937. RM. 7.

This book is of service in that it is the first systematic study of Zoroastrian animal cults that we possess. The author confines himself to the Avesta, and draws little on Pahlavī sources and less on foreign. Some will regret this rather arbitrary distinction, since the Avesta, as we know it, must be regarded as a fragmentary document, and not, as the author would hold (p. 20), as an united whole: the much

richer Pahlavī literature frequently supplies detailed information where the Avesta only has the merest hint or nothing at all. But so long as students of Religion rely on West's translations of the Pahlavī Texts, their sparing use of these Pahlavī sources is perhaps a not unmixed evil: for the happy days when these translations could be taken as authoritative are forever past, and the regrettable fact emerges that to quote West may be very different from rendering exactly the thoughts and words of the post-Sāsānian Zoroastrians. The book collects all the information supplied by the Avesta relative to the cow, dog, and other animals, and treats of their relationship to the gods and the part they play in the ritual. Veneration for the cow is properly attributed to the change from a nomadic to a pastoral form of existence, but the absence of the dog in the Gāθas and its prominence in the Vidēvdāt and the Herodotean account is not really explained. The statement on p. 52 that birds and dogs, being representatives of the "pure" creation, accept only the corpses of those who themselves have been "pure" on earth, is surprising, since Vd., v. 28 ff., gives us to understand that the holier the creature, the more extensive is the defilement caused by its corpse. The Three-footed Ass, the Kara Fish, and those other interesting monsters of which the Greater Bundahišn gives so full an account, receive only a passing mention in the work under review. A discussion of them would have been welcome. This book will be a useful introduction to the study of animal cults in Īrān.

A 899 R. C. ZAEHNER.

LA CIVILISATION D'ASSUR ET DE BABYLONE. By Dr. G. CONTENAU. Bibliothèque Historique. 9 × 5½, pp. 260, pls. 16, figs. 52. Paris: Payot, 1937.

As a companion volume to his recent *Civilisation des Hittites et des Mitanniens* Dr. Contenau now presents a much-revised edition of his book on the Assyrian and Babylonian civilization first published fifteen years ago, and noticed in this

Journal for 1923, p. 106. Since then discovery in 'Irāq and the neighbouring lands, near and distant, has proceeded at an unprecedented rate, and in particular the pre-history of these regions has come to constitute almost a study by itself. The author, obliged by the scope of his work to confine himself to broad generalities, has nevertheless given a sound and interesting account of the new knowledge, accompanied by some independent judgments, and in the rest of the book, which treads more familiar ground, his mastery of the material has enabled him to write succinctly yet clearly on the early history of Assyriology, and on the religion, art, and institutions of ancient Sumer, Akkad, and Assyria. The illustration is plentiful, if not always very attractive, and there is a useful brief bibliography.

A. 922. C. J. GADD.

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EIN MANICHÄISCHES BET- UND BEICHTBUCH. By DR. W. HENNING. (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1936, Phil. Hist. No. 10). 10½ × 7½, pp. 143. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1937.

As anyone familiar with the Manichæan publications of Andreas-Henning would have expected, this latest volume —the work of Dr. Henning alone—is an outstanding work of accurate scholarship and sound interpretation. The texts are divided into two parts: Persian-Parthian and Soghdian. The former, like the "Mitteliranische Manichäica" which preceded it, consists of text, translation, and a full glossary. Interesting among the small number of new words that appear in this book are *'whyr-*, "aufsteigen" which must be connected with Pahl. [illegible] **vihēr-*, "move" (Dd. 16, 13[16], **vihērīhēt*: *DkM.*, 114, 9; **vihērišnīkīh*, and *DkM.*, p. 352 *passim*), and *jdg*, "Ruhm," which gives the reading of Pahl. [illegible] (*yatak*), though the meaning of the latter (cf. *DkM.*, p. 352), must still remain doubtful.

The excellence of the Persian-Parthian section of Dr. Henning's book could be taken as a matter of course, but the Soghdian section is surprising in that it surpasses our expectations. This is the first time that an important text has been published in Manichæan Soghdian. Again we are given text, translation, and a full glossary; but beside all this there is an exhaustive philological commentary in which no difficulty is shunned and no passage, published or unpublished, that could throw light on the text neglected. Scholars may—and, no doubt, will—disagree on the interpretations of individual words, but none will dispute the industry and critical acumen which this work displays. Though the text is by no means easy, the commentary is so inclusive that beginners might well start Soghdian with it, for Dr. Henning has not confined himself to elucidating words hitherto unknown or wrongly explained, but comments also on those forms which, though common like the imperfects of verbs beginning with a vowel with prefixed *m-*, cause the beginner trouble. This book deserves unstinted praise and is indispensable to Irānian scholars.

A. 901. R. C. ZAEHNER.

India

A SANTAL DICTIONARY. By P. O. BODDING. 11 × 7¼, vol. iv (L–Ph), pp. 750. Vol. v (R–Y), pp. 704, Kr. 45.00. Oslo: Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, 1935–6. Kr. 47.00.

These two volumes bring to a close a monumental work, the result of a lifetime's close acquaintance with the Santal people, and careful, scientific study of their language. Mr. Bodding, a philologist of international reputation, has spent an unusual span of years in close contact with the Santals, as a missionary of the Santal Mission of the Northern (Lutheran) Churches. The appearance of his dictionary is opportune. Santali is the most widely used of all the aboriginal languages

of Northern India—according to the last Census Santals then numbered well over 2,600,000— ; to the philologist, it is in itself a fascinating study ; and yet, until very recent years, it has received no official recognition from the Universities of Bengal and Bihar. Within the last two years, however, the Senates of the Universities of Calcutta and of Patna have agreed to recognize it as a vernacular for the purposes of the matriculation examination—though Calcutta has threatened to diminish the value of this step by recognizing only the Bengali script, one which has never been adapted to the special needs of Santali, and which is rarely used by Santals themselves or by those most closely acquainted with their language. In the Santal Parganas, also, Government is now insisting that its servants must acquire a working knowledge of Santali. And so a language, long studied in the Universities of Europe (as witness these volumes), is likely at long last to come to its own in its own land.

To every student of the language, Bodding's Dictionary will be an invaluable work. Not only, as a dictionary, is it more complete and detailed than its only predecessor, but it is also a valuable encyclopædia of all that concerns the Santal people. Under the headings of the appropriate words, valuable descriptions are given of the festivals, rites, and customs of the people ; of their methods of government, agriculture, etc. ; of the various implements and household utensils in use among them ; and vol. v closes with an index of the more important words under which matters of ethnological interest have been dealt with.

As to its value as a dictionary, there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who has any knowledge of the language. The illustrative phrases given under each word, showing the various ways in which it is used in everyday speech, are obviously taken from the mouths of the Santals themselves, and while the English translation is not always so apt or idiomatic as it might be if it had been made by an Englishman, the meaning is always clear. Like most primitive peoples, the

Santals have not learned to classify things and actions, and this fact, reflected in their language, increases the difficulties of the lexicographer. Some words seem, to us, extraordinarily specific in their meaning, e.g. *toro*, here translated "To raise the height of a basket, etc., by putting sticks, leaves, etc., round the brim in order that it may hold more". Other words, however, while the underlying idea is clear, have a great diversity of applications, well brought out by Bodding, e.g. "*latar*—n., adj., postpos., adv., v.a.m. The underside, place below or underneath; below, underneath, beneath; put under, lay under, subject, conquer"; and "*ma*—intj., a particle covering an optative, precative, cohortative, permissive, and admissive sense". The wealth of Santali idiom is well illustrated, as also a rich sense of humour which finds expression in many descriptive words, e.g. "*lidhọr lọdhọr*—with a vibrating motion (of the stomach of fat people)"—and one searches these volumes in vain for omissions in these respects. The work, too, is up to date. "*Phadar Saheb*," for instance, is included, as Santali for a "European Roman-Catholic priest or monk", though these have appeared on the Santal scene only within the last ten years, and it is still more recently that this description of them has become current.

A valuable feature, to the student, is the clear description given of the pronunciation of each letter. Take "V", for instance. "*v* is the denti-labial open voiced sound, in Santali found only medial, i.e. between two vowels, or between a medial consonant and a following vowel. It is a mistake to say that Santali only has the '*w*', insisted upon by some English and Scotch people. The Santals have the sound, i.e. produced by placing the upper front teeth on the lower lip, or (perhaps more often, and this may to some extent explain the mistake) the lower lip against the front of the upper front teeth. The *v* is especially heard between and before the vowels *e* and *i*." The writer confesses to having been one of the "Scotch people" here mentioned as sceptical

of the occurrence of the "*v*" sound in Santali, but this minute description will send him back to the Santals determined to study the whole question afresh. Another valuable feature is the inclusion of the derivation of the word where possible.

The dictionary is printed by Messrs. A. W. Broggers, Printing Press, Ltd., Oslo, and the printing and whole get-up are first class, while printer's errors are few and insignificant. In a short introduction to the last volume, Bodding gives the names of the Santal men and women who have been associated with him in this work. To them, as to him, all interested in the Santals owe a very real and very big debt of gratitude.

A. 744. R. M. MACPHAIL.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By VERA ANSTEY. Third (revised and enlarged) edition. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 582 + xlii, maps and diagrams 10. London: Longmans, 1936. 25s. net.

The reviewer has little to do beyond welcoming the new edition of this standard text-book of Indian economics, and recording that it has been effectively brought up to date by revision of the text and the statistics, and the insertion of a new chapter dealing with the developments which have occurred since the publication of the first edition in 1929. The book is characterized by a union of comprehensiveness and accuracy which, in this field, is exceedingly rare: I can think of no important topic which has been overlooked or inadequately treated, and I have found scarcely any inaccuracies, though there is room here and there for differences of opinion regarding the weight to be attached to particular pieces of evidence. The only misprint I have noticed is on p. 165, where the date of Dr. Voelcker's mission to India appears as 1898 instead of 1889.

A. 818. W. H. MORELAND.

THE KHĀṚIĀS. By SARAT CHANDRA ROY and ROMESH CHANDRA ROY, with Foreword by R. R. MARETT. Vol. I, pp. xiv + 306, map 1, ills. 38; Vol. II, pp. 223 + lv, ills. 23. 5½ × 9. Ranchi: "Man in India" Office, 1937. Rupees 10.

The Khāṛiās, nearly 180,000 strong, are one of the great Muṇḍāri-speaking peoples of the Chota Nagpur plateau. They comprise three groups, the largest and most progressive being the Dūdh Khāṛiās, concentrated in the south-west of Ranchi District and the adjoining State of Gangpur. To the west of them, spreading well into the Central Provinces, are the Ḍhelkis, whose culture is very similar. To the east, centring in Mayūrbhanj, Dhalbhūm, and Mānbhūm, are the far more "primitive" Hill Khāṛiās, who have lost their national language and institutions, and adopted the speech of their Bengali and Oriya neighbours. Their low standards of life are apparently decadent, due to isolation and a harsh environment; they do not necessarily represent a phase through which the Dūdhs and Ḍhelkis have passed.

Mr. S. C. Roy's long, intimate friendship with the Muṇḍās and Orāons is a unique equipment for his study of the Khāṛiās, whom, in his charming final chapter, he considers the "most loveable" of all. The details of his full and faithful record, which he modestly describes as the "beginnings" of a systematic survey, admit of no discussion here, for the field is new, and controversy he avoids. His topographical analysis of the "clan", which operates in the same way as the Hindu *gotra*, and is the key to all Indian sociology, shows up (without his saying it) the inadequacy of earlier surveys and of speculations based on literature untested by fact. His interpretation, *passim*, of custom as "satisfying an emotional need", particularly the need for "social solidarity", has administrative value. Thus, although matrimonial exclusiveness among the Khāṛiās is as rigorous as anything to be found in the "caste system", it makes for fusion rather than

fission, and gives them weight, which without it they could not have, in a Pan-Tribal *Samāj* for all Chota Nagpur.

No list of plates is given, and their numbering is erratic, but it would be ungracious to criticize them, for Mr. Roy, from his own resources, and with his son's help, has devoted his unrivalled insight and industry to a task which, in other parts of India, is borne by the State.

A. 867. F. J. RICHARDS.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF KASHMIRI: KASHMIRI SOUNDS, HOW TO MAKE THEM AND HOW TO TRANSCRIBE THEM. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY. R.A.S., Forlong Fund, Vol. XVI. 9¾ × 6, pp. vi + 70. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1937. 10*s.* 6*d.*

This comprehensive and precise description of the sounds of Kāshmīrī will be extremely useful to those who are learning to speak the language, or who, for any other reason, want to acquire an exact knowledge of its phonetic system.

Dr. Grahame Bailey possesses both a knowledge of the modern science of Phonetics and a practical experience dating from childhood of some of the languages of Northern India, subsequently re-enforced by many years of linguistic research, which qualify him in an eminent degree to deal with the subject.

The book contains, firstly, an exact description of the sounds found in the Kāshmīrī of the educated classes, to represent which the author makes use of the system of the International Phonetic Association, "as employed in recent works on African languages"; secondly, illustrations of all the ordinary declensional and conjugational forms, which he estimates at about 3,000; thirdly, specimen texts with interlinear literal translations; fourthly, a Kāshmīrī-English Vocabulary containing all the separate words occurring in the book, which amount to about 1,000.

The work is founded on a study of the actual speech sounds

of three educated Kāshmīrīs, resident in London, but hailing from Śrīnagar. It is therefore free from the misleading symbols and conventions of the written language. The theory of the *mātrā* vowels is described, and their practical effects are of course taken account of, but all will agree with the author that "those *mātrā* vowels which are not pronounced need not be represented".

To assist the student the author gives tables in which he correlates his own vowel symbols with those employed by Sir George Grierson in his standard works on the language: the *Kāshmīrī Manual* and the monumental *Dictionary of the Kāshmīrī Language.*

Thanks and congratulations are due to Dr. Grahame Bailey for having undertaken and carried through this arduous piece of work.

Personally, in the improbable event of my ever again hearing the intriguing vowel-sounds of Kāshmīrī boatmen, shikaris, and villagers, which disturb the peace of the traveller in Kashmīr and go on echoing, no doubt incorrectly, in his memory, I look forward to trying to identify them in this manual.

A. 986. D. L. R. LORIMER.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. Vol. V. The Virātaparvan. Critically edited by RAGHU VIRA. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. lxi + 362 + 1. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, 1936.

It was my pleasant duty to review the first volume of the great Poona edition of the *Mahābhārata* in the *Journal* for 1936, pp. 317 ff.; and for this, the next volume to appear, which, though containing the fourth *parvan*, is given the number five, the responsibility for the text lies with Professor Raghu Vira, already well known to Sanskritists for careful work on the ritual literature, under the general supervision of Dr. Sukthankar. The workmanship maintains the standard set by the *Ādiparvan*, as high a compliment as could be

desired by any editor, while its superiority to the late Mr. Utgikar's trial edition of the same text amply demonstrates the advance in critical methods which has marked the last ten years. The choice of this *parvan* for such an edition was indeed somewhat unfortunate. In the case of the first volume Dr. Sukthankar proved in effect that the various recensions went back to a common original, which itself could only have been prepared at a relatively late date in the evolution of the epic. But after subtraction of the many additions made by the Southern recension, the drawing of a similar inference for the *Virāṭaparvan* would only be valid for part of the text at the best, the change of sequence in the order of events for the battle scenes, adhy. 49–59 of this edition, being alone conclusive of the impropriety of holding the contrary view. That much of this *parvan* was a late addition to the epic has always been obvious; the detailed evidence now before us tends to show that we must regard these parts as even later in date than the most drastic critic might have dared to suggest, a point not without importance for the dating of other works deriving their plots from this portion of the epic.

In these circumstances the editor found himself in great difficulties and decided to base his text on the Northern recension, though he would be a bold man who would pronounce definitely that the oldest version of certain episodes is better preserved there than in the Southern recension when "deflated"; the course taken was probably the best way out of the difficulty. In minor details there is as usual much of interest; attention may be drawn to the editor's rendering of *sahita* in the phrase *araṇīsahita* at i, 3 (Addenda, p. 361), as "a pair". He gives no references in support, but, though such inquiries as I have made have failed to show any parallels in Sanskrit, the phrase occurs in a number of Pāli passages, where this seems to be the probable meaning, though not recognized by the dictionaries.

A. 850. E. H. Johnston.

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES. Vol. i. By L. A. KRISHNA IYER. 8½ × 5, pp. xxi + 277, ills. 59, map 1. Trivandrum, Government Press, 1937. Rs. 7.

In this valuable work Mr. L. A. Krishna Iyer follows in the footsteps of his distinguished father, who has given us the four volumes of *Tribes and Castes of Mysore.*

The book, which is the first of two or more volumes on the population of the Travancore State, is furnished with an author's preface, a foreword by Dr. Cousins, Head of the Fine Arts Department of Travancore University, and an introduction by Dr. Haddon. Much of the contents of the book has already appeared in Dr. Hutton's vol. i, part iii*b*, of the Census of India, 1931.

Instead of following the usual system of entry in alphabetical sequence, the author has selected, by request, seven out of sixteen primitive tribes for description in vol. i. The reason given for selecting these tribes for precedence is the rapid disappearance of primitive culture owing to outside influence. It is, however, to be hoped that when these sixteen tribes have been dealt with, the rest of the population will be described similarly, and an alphabetical reference provided for the complete work, to facilitate the investigations of scholars.

The work has been carefully done and furnishes a very valuable record of the practices of these primitive people. There is, of course, to be noted as usual a strong resemblance to the early tribes of other parts of India. The system of exogamy by *illoms*, though clearly not now totemistic, is in some respects suggestive of an earlier totemistic organization. Of particular interest are the tables of kinship terms, which are of a very elaborate nature. The description (p. 104) of the precautions taken against the husband's evil fortune after childbirth in the case of the Malapantāram throws some new light on the *couvade*, the reason for which is involved in so much uncertainty and speculation. The work is furnished

with a map giving the tribal distribution, and many illustrations, showing typical features.

The author is to be warmly congratulated on filling so satisfactorily a blank in the ethnographic survey of India. He would, however, have been well advised, in view of the widespread appeal of a work of this nature, to avoid quoting Malayālam in the text, and more care might with advantage have been given to eliminating misprints, which even appear in the *errata*.

B. 122. R. E. ENTHOVEN.

TWO LAMAISTIC PANTHEONS: FROM MATERIALS COLLECTED BY THE LATE BARON A. VON STAËL HOLSTEIN. (Harvard Yenching Institute—Monograph Series, vols. iii–iv.) $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$. Vol. i, pp. xxiv + 169; vol. ii, pls. 314. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937. 2 vols., 42*s*.

This is a most useful manual of Tibetan iconography. Besides the materials already known, like the five hundred gods of sNart'aṅ and the Pantheon edited by Oldenburg, the book contains new documents chiefly collected by the late Baron A. von Staël Holstein. These iconographic documents consist of a series of statues found in the Pao-hsiang Lou, a Lamaist temple situated in the garden of Tz'ŭ ning palace in the forbidden city at Peiping; this pantheon originally included 787 images.

These materials are very interesting, because of each deity represented the name is given either in Chinese or in Tibetan, or both in Chinese and in Tibetan; to these languages, in some cases—as in the case of the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon—even Mongolian and Manchu are added.

The materials so collected have been carefully catalogued by the editor, who has added most interesting indices in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan, the Sanskrit names being carefully restored with the help of the other two languages.

As is known, these pantheons are, as a rule, taken from some collections of *Sādhanas* (*sGrub T'abs*) in which the formulae of meditation of the various gods were contained. These collections modelled upon the Sanskrit *Sādhanamālā*, but different in size and importance, are very numerous in Tibetan literature. Each school has its own: the bKa' rgyud pa chiefly refer to that of Padma dkar po, called *sGrub pa t'abs rgya mts'oi c'o ga rjes gnan daṅ bcas pa ḍdod dgui dpal gter*.

The Sa skya pa have the most famous and the largest collection of *Sādhana*, I mean the *sGrub t'abs rgya mts'o*. It consists of many volumes, and is edited in sDerge. I could not as yet find a copy of it, but I saw some volumes of it. It is this work which inspired, for instance, the painters of the chapels in the Kumbum (*sKu ḍbum*) of Gyantze, as is clearly mentioned in the inscriptions written at the bottom of the frescoes.

A résumé of this work has been edited in Tashilumpo, and is called *sGrub t'abs rgya 'mts'o nas bšad pai lha ts'ogs rnams kyi mnon rtogs rjes gnaṅ c'o ga dan bcas yig gi don ḍgrel ḍdod dgui ljon šiṅ rin po c'ei sñem*, by *Nam mk'a' dpal bzaṅ*.

It is therefore difficult to ascertain which was the source which inspired the artists. The collections now published anyhow betray the influence of the "yellow" sect by the presence of Tsoṅ k'a pa and the absence of the Sa skya lamas.

The restoration of the Sanskrit names made by the editor is very accurate. Of course, there are minor details which might need revision, but they do not impair the usefulness of the work. Expressions like *mitrai lugs*, *bari lugs* (p. 5), *k'a ce paṅ c'en lugs* (p. 6), *jo bo lugs* (p. 7) need some elucidation; they refer to the particular method (*lugs*) of realization as expounded by some famous masters, Indian as well as Tibetan: Maitripā, the Bari Lotsāva, Śākyaśrī (the great Kashmirian paṇḍit), Atīśa, usually called Jo bo.

Gur (p. 11) is not really *Mahākāla* but the *mgon po*, or

yidam of the Sa skya pa. p. 12, *skal bzan rgya mts'o* is not *Kalpabhadrasa mudrā*, but rather *Bhadrakalpasa mudrā*.

On sMe brtsegs = Ucchuṣma, I may refer to *Indo-Tibetica*, iii. Pārvatī (p. 33), is not exactly *dmag zor ma*, or, at least, the two goddesses have been assimilated, though originally different, cf. *Indo Tibetica*, iii, p. 91 ff. Instead of Paramapitṛ I should prefer to leave the Tibetan form *P'a dam pa* as it is. P'a dam pa, as known, was the founder of the Tingri monastery to the north of Nepal, and famous for his magical powers.

To conclude, this book represents a very important contribution to the iconography of Tibetan Buddhism.

B 116 GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

AN EIGHT HUNDRED YEAR OLD BOOK OF INDIAN MEDICINE AND FORMULAS. Tr. by ELIZABETH SHARPE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 135. London: Luzac and Co., 1937. 6*s*.

Any book on Oriental medicine is of interest. But frankly Elizabeth Sharpe's translation of " An Eight Hundred Year Old Book of Indian Medicine " is one of the less valuable. After all it is not a very ancient work. Rhazes and Avicenna had already lived and died before that date.

This book is what the old Persians would call a Qarābādīn or Pharmaceutica. The first half, which the translator (or author) divides among parts 1 to 4, deals with diseases and their remedies; the second half (which comprises parts 5 to 8) deals with pharmacy and the preparation of therapeutic compounds. Many interesting details are found in these pages. There is, of course, an enormous amount of magic. There is also the interesting test for male impotence (p. 66). There is a direct reference to birth control (p. 68). And there are frequent signs of Arab influence, more especially in the names of drugs—*sarma* for antimony (p. 109), for instance, and *hubul ghur* for laurel (p. 126).

The book, however, is marred by several faults. In the

first place it is impossible to discover who wrote it. Was it Waghji Muni (p. 13) or not? Does A.D. 1435 (again p. 13) represent the date of its composition or only of the terminal verses? There is no index, so that it is impossible to find out all the references to any disease or to any drug. For there is no apparent system in the treatment of the subject matter. Again, many of the technical terms must be mistranslated. Syphilis (p. 46) was not known in India eight hundred years ago. Nor is it likely that the disease now known as sprue (p. 57) was then recognized as a clinical entity. And what, pray, is the disease translated so frequently as peenus (p. 94)?

The fault lies in the translation of a highly technical work being made by a person with no knowledge of the technicalities of the subject. The author disarms criticism by her frank acknowledgment of her incapacity (p. 6), so no more can be said. Nor does she seem to know any Arabic, when she writes Damal-ook-wain for Dragons' Blood (p. 124). Nor is her Latin above suspicion (p. 68). It is a pity, because at present the main sources of our knowledge of Indian Medicine are Persian expositions, such as the Firdaus-ul-Ḥikmat and the Liber Regius. A translation into English of Suśruta, Charaka, and even the later physicians of India, is a work which is still eagerly awaited by all historians of Arab Medicine.

A. 906. C. ELGOOD.

CONCEPTS OF BUDDHISM. By BIMALA CHURN LAW. With a Foreword by the Most Honourable the MARQUESS OF ZETLAND. 10 × 8½, pp. xii + 104. Amsterdam: Published for the Kern Institute by H. J. Paris, 1937. 5*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. B. C. Law has written a very attractive volume dealing with eleven Buddhist concepts. Some of them are peculiarly Buddhist, such as Profession of Faith, Four Noble Truths, and the Noble Eightfold Path, and others, which are common Indian concepts, such as caste, *karma*, and *dharma*, still have a very definite Buddhist colouring. The subjects are

not taken in any intelligible order, for the author jumps from *sarana* to *pāramitā* and then to *jāti*, and he does not seem to find *pāramitā* earlier than the second century B.C. The other concepts treated are *jhāna*, *puggala*, *paṭicca-samuppāda*, and *nibbāna*. The author says that it has not been an easy task to handle the subject, as the main concepts of Buddhism still require very careful consideration before saying anything definitely about them. In addition to this is the fact that he seems to be unaware of any previous handlings of the subject except in English. Nevertheless he writes without perceptible confessional bias or preconceived notions, and such candour of treatment is of the highest value in the discussion of matters that still require very careful consideration.

B. 64. E. J. THOMAS.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION, CEYLON. Bulletin No. 3. Tamil Documents in the Government Archives, selected and translated by MUDALIYAR C. RASANAYAGAM. 10 × 7, pp. 59, pls. 1. Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1937. Cents 75.

This Bulletin deals with sixty-seven Tamil letters and documents found in the Palace of Kandy in 1815. They fall into three classes, namely, correspondence of the King with (1) the Nawab of Arcot, (2) the French at Pondicherry, and (3) the British. Of the first class one, though in Tamil, is written in Arabic characters.

Of particular interest are K 64, a copy of the grant of three districts in the Island to the French, and K 33, the draft treaty with the Governor of Madras. The elaborate method of wrapping up the missives is worthy of notice (pp. 10, 12).

The editor is in error in identifying Mādduma Vedarāḷa alias Rājakaruṇā Rājapakṣa Gōpāla Mudiyansē with Gōpāla Kṛṣṇa Nāyakkar (p. 4). The former was a member of a well-known Muslim family of Court physicians, whose ancestors came to Ceylon from Goa on the capture of that city by the

Portuguese. He had never been in India before Śaka 1714 (p. 36); the Nāyakkar, on the other hand, had come from Madura (p. 50).

In K 19 (p. 9) "The Lord of Hajarat", if I mistake not, is a mistranslation, "hajarat," in the Tamil "asarattu", representing the Arab-Persian ḥaẓrat, "excellency."

On p. 2 the editor has fallen into the common error of confusing the gold fanam with the later copper coin of the name, now reckoned as equal to six cents. On p. 32 "Katukorale" according to the Tamil should be "Katukurule", and correctly so; the word is a form of the more common "Kaṭupullē", the name of the Adigars' messengers. On p. 56 "Iddamaspana" is a mistake for "Iddamalpana", a well-known resthouse on the old road from Colombo to Kandy. And on p. 22 is not "rei corado" meant for "rei coroado", "crowned king"?

The impression of the royal lion-seal is far from clear in the reproduction of document K 64, and a better specimen of this rarity would have added to the value of the Bulletin

These defects, however, do not detract from the value of the present work and Mudaliyar Rasanayagam is to be congratulated on his edition of these interesting documents.

B. 54. H. W. CODRINGTON.

THE EARLY BUDDHIST THEORY OF MAN PERFECTED. A STUDY OF THE ARAHAN. By I. B. HORNER. 8¾ × 6, pp. 328. London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 1936. 12*s.* 6*d.*

In this interesting monograph Miss Horner traces the history of the "Arahan" concept from its appearance in early "Śākyan" to its great significance in monastic Buddhism, and after that through various stages of dogmatic shiftings to its gradual waning, until it gives way eventually to the Mahāyānist Bodhisattva idea which entirely superseded it in Northern Buddhism. In the course of her investigation she digresses on

many non-Buddhist uses of words which throw important side-lights on the Buddhist idea. She discusses fully the range of the latter, analysing all relevant text-passages, in the interpretation of which she exhibits a high degree of sagacity. It may be that here and there the Commentarial literature has been valued too highly and that certain other concepts have been dealt with in a somewhat unusual way: still, the general investigation yields valuable results. Mrs. Rhys Davids's theories about the origin of Śâkya and monastic Buddhism as well as her hypothesis of "becoming" have been accepted by Miss Horner throughout.

Miss Horner's observations regarding the peculiar position of the Arahan in the Milindapañha are good: here the "perfected man" appears as a social being, leading a communal existence, and does not wander any longer "like the rhinoceros". No less relevant are her remarks on the development of the Bodhisattva concept.

Two concluding chapters are only indirectly connected with the main theme, but they are valuable in so far as they contribute material to an attempted formulation of the ideal of perfection, the concrete *summum bonum* which the self-perfecting striver after freedom sets before himself as the goal. The two terms discussed here are *oghatiṇṇa* (having crossed the flood) and *pāra* (the other side).

In the definition of the Arahan concept two considerable points have been well brought out by the author, viz. that the *arahan* idea is incompatible with the *anattā* doctrine, and that its emphasis lies on the achievement of perfection "here and now". And in this connection one feels, and is relieved to feel, that the important thing is not the etymology, nor the history of the origins of the term—these things are only adjuncts of monastic-philological theory: hence the word "theory" in the title—but the realization of its content as of a very significant fact of experience, viz. emancipation during one's lifetime. In this meaning we find it frequently used in the Theragāthās as a synonym of blissful enlightenment (*sambodhi*;

cf. Itivuttaka, § 47, "idh'eva sambodhiṃ anuttaraṃ phuse") which assures the aspirant of his emancipation not only for the rest of his earthly life but for ever and ever. As a description of the sudden flash of enlightenment coming even after a very short preparation, we meet with the word often in the "Psalms", where it surprises one how quickly and almost instantaneously this freedom of soul (*ceto-vimutti*) is won.

It is impossible here to criticize Miss Horner's treatment of some noteworthy Pāli terms which constantly puzzle the translator by their enigmatic character, such as *sakad-* and *an-āgāmī*, or *tattha-* and *antarā-parinibbāyī*: all that she says about these is very helpful. Only one short remark I should like to add about the term *pāra*, as a warning, so to speak, against finding more in it than it was intended to convey by those who used it as a word of their mother tongue. It is doubtful to me whether Miss Horner is right in seeing in *pāra* the idea of development. As far as I am aware it is originally and prominently even later meant to designate the "farther" shore, the other side, or bank of the river (see ample evidence of this on pp. 296–301). The phrase *pārangata* would thus be almost synonymous with *oghatiṇṇa* and imply a safe place where one may gain a footing for rest and comfort, thus emphasizing the stopping and ceasing from going (or having to go) farther. I doubt whether it can be proven that, as the author says (p. 284), "there was originally no identification of *pāra* with a static condition": and her quotations from the Upanishads (p. 285) rather give support to my view.

The book is written in concise and lucid English and is pleasant to read for those who know something of Indian psychology and of Pāli Buddhism, but it must be somewhat (to say the least) difficult for ordinary English readers who are not conversant with Pāli terms. Moreover, perhaps no section of applied psychology is more difficult and misleading than the semantics of expressions which are at the same time very ordinary words and highly technical terms, as e.g. *attā*, *attha*, *kamma*, *bhava* and derivatives, and *maggā*.

A. 713. W. STEDE.

A HISTORY OF BRAJABULI LITERATURE. Being a study of the Vaisnava Lyric Poetry and Poets of Bengal. By SUKUMAR SEN. 9¾ × 6¾, pp. xvi + 600, ills. 2. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1935.

This is a valuable and scholarly treatment of the Vaiṣṇava lyric poetry of Bengal, the greater part of which is composed in the literary dialect of Bengali known as Brajabuli. Brajabuli must be distinguished from Brajabhāṣā, the dialect of Hindi spoken in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. This book, after an admirably concise statement of the origin and nature of Brajabuli, gives some account of the Vaiṣṇava anthologies and other works which have preserved the Vaiṣṇava songs that have come down to us. There follows a discussion of the ideas underlying the lyrics, which all deal in one way or another with the Kṛṣṇa legend, and particularly with the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The main part of the book consists of a series of brief notices of more than three hundred Vaiṣṇava *padakartās*. In each case such biographical details as have been ascertained are given, and in most cases one or more examples of the poet's lyric verse. The notices are arranged as far as possible in chronological order. The quotations are given in a romanized transliteration, but there is an appendix giving them also in Bengali script. The latter part of the book deals with later poems in Brajabuli and such lyric poetry in Bengali as has affinities with the Brajabuli poems, and there are two chapters devoted to the development of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa literature prior to the sixteenth century.

There is an unfortunately long list of additions and corrections, many of which deal with the diacritical marks required for the transliteration of the extracts—a notoriously difficult matter in proof correction. It is a pity that the author insists on using A.C. instead of A.D. in dates. This is surely a mere affectation; he need not be apprehensive of any one concluding from the use of A.D. that he has deserted

his ancestral religion, while his debt to Professor S. K. Chatterji would have been sufficiently obvious without this tribute of imitation.

There are of course many points raised in the book on which differences of opinion will exist. But there can be no doubt that it is a work which will be invaluable to all students of Bengali literature and of Vaiṣṇavism, and both the author and the University of Calcutta are to be congratulated on the production of a work based on such extensive research and presented in such a practically useful and scholarly form.

A. 569. W. SUTTON PAGE.

HARIVAMŚAPURĀṆA: Ein Abschnitt aus der Apabhraṃśa-Welthistorie "Mahāpurāṇa Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisa-guṇālamkāra" von Puṣpadanta. Herausg. von LUDWIG ALSDORF. Alt- u. Neu-Indische Studien, 5. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$, pp. xii + 515, pls. 3. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1936.

This volume contains in addition to the text and translation of Puṣpadanta's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* an exhaustive introduction dealing with every aspect of the work: and I have nothing but praise for the exemplary care and thoroughness with which it has been done. The main interest is linguistic, and if occasionally I would differ in the explanation of particular words, criticism of this sort is best left to those who have specialized in the Apabhraṁśas. The literary value of the work is small, but it raises a point of general interest in its bearing on the date of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which the editor would put back to the first or second century B.C. at the latest. His arguments for this surprising conclusion are too often hypothetical to carry complete conviction, but it is fairer to defer judgment till he gives us the opportunity of considering his evidence in greater detail.

A. 702. E. H. JOHNSTON.

MAHAVIRA: HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS. By BIMALA CHURN LAW. 7½ × 5, pp. viii + 114. London: Luzac & Co., 1937.

THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF SPIRITS. (Same author and publishers.) Second edition, revised and enlarged. Law's Research Series, Pub. No. 3. 8 × 5½, pp. xii + 114. 1936.

The first of these works gives a clear and concise description of the life and teachings of the great Jain leader, so far as can be gathered from the canonical texts of the Jains and Buddhists. It should be of great help in focusing the points of dispute that still exist among modern scholars. For instance, it is generally agreed that Mahāvīra died before Buddha. Yet Charpentier in *The Cambridge History of India* denied this, and it would be all the better for sound chronology to show why he was wrong. There are two *Bhagavatī-sūtras*, and the title is only an honorific for the real names. Which of them does Dr. Law really mean?

The term "spirits" for the subject of the second work is liable to misunderstanding. Even the term "ghosts" is not exact, for they are not discarnate spirits, but have bodies of a most unpleasant kind. Dr. Law defines "spirits" as a term for "the unhappy dead who suffer in the nether world on account of their misdeeds in a previous existence." This does not seem to distinguish those who are suffering in *niraya*. However, the whole method and treatment of the author makes the matter admirably clear. The work is a valuable exposition of a popular Indian belief as it became modified in the community of Buddhist lay people.

A. 856, 862. E. J. THOMAS.

La Subordination dans la Prose Védique. Études sur le Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, I. By Armand Minard. pp. 214. Annales de l'Université de Lyon. Troisième série. Lettres. Fascicule 3. Paris : Société d'Édition *Les Belles Lettres*. 1936.

Arid as is the content of the Brāhmaṇa literature, the interest of its prose syntactically and stylistically has always commanded attention, and M. Minard's work, inspired by Professor Renou, is a worthy addition to the growing literature. This part gives an exhaustive investigation of the structure of the sentences in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* introduced by *yāvat*, *yathā*, *yatra*, *yadā*, and *yadi*. The excellent plan is adopted of citing passages in full with translation, and an elaborate analysis renders it possible to add precision even to the translation of Eggeling.

No doubt the author is sometimes too critical of his predecessors. Eggeling aimed at idiomatic English, and at giving a faithful reproduction of the text, without adopting the interpretation of the commentator as to the succession or simultaneity of actions, where the text leaves either possible; this is legitimate, for we cannot suppose that the ritual Sūtra is always a faithful guide; the author abandons it in iv. 2. 5.6–7 (p. 22). Moreover, M. Minard takes exception (p. 154) to the certainly correct view of Delbrück that i.8.1.3 *yadā tām ativardhai* means "when I have outgrown it", and ii.4.2.4 *yadaiva yūyaṁ kadā ca labhādhvai* "when you have found", though he admits it in x.4.3.9, and it occurs with *yatra* in xi.5.5.10, while xiv.6.9.26 is on any theory obscure. It is equally difficult to accept his criticism of Delbrück's doctrine that in *yadā* with the optative the action thereby expressed is regarded as past; all the examples bear out Delbrück's thesis, xi.1.4.4; vi.8.1.10; xii.5.2.1–2; ix.3.2.5.; vi.8.1.12. Only in ii.1.3.9 is contemporaneity prima facie even possible, and the real rendering is "whenever the sacrifice has turned out favourably". Delbrück was so careful a writer that any disagreement from his view needs full consideration.

M. Minard unfortunately fails to recognize the generic or indefinite use of the optative, which explains several passages which give him trouble. It is clear in xi.5.3.9 *yatra gārhapatyo 'nugacched vettha tad bhayam yad atra juhvato bhavati*; the danger arises in every case in which the fire goes out. So i.2.2.4; iv.2.1.19. A good example is iv.3.1.20 *iti trayodaśaṁ grahaṁ gṛhṇāti yadi trayodaśaṁ gṛhṇīyāt*, where we are told what he does whenever he does the action indicated in the optative. The sense is quite different from the corresponding clause with an optative in the apodosis also. The same thing is to be seen in IV.4.2.17–18 *atha saṁ preṣyati . . . iti yady agniṣṭomaḥ syāt*. So iii.9.3.32; i.9.2.14–16; iii.8.5.10; v.5.4.26; iii.4.4.19; VI.6.4.10. In v.5.4.1 *sa yady ajān ālabheran lohita āśvino bhavati* simply means "whenever they kill goats, then that for the Aśvins is red". The same doctrine explains ii.6.2.17; III.5.3.9; v.1.5.17; and v.5.4.33, all of which cause M. Minard needless trouble. Hence there is nothing inexplicable in iv.5.2.10 *iti yadi pumānt syād yady u strī syāt . . . iti yady u avijñāto garbho bhavati juhuyāt*. Where an indefinite is desired, optative[1] and indicative are equally available, and they can be used side by side, as often in Classical Sanskrit. But divergence of view on this and other details does not lessen the appreciation due for so painstaking a work of research.

A. 915. A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

SHABARA-BHĀṢYA, Volume III, Adhyāyas IX–XII. Translated by GANGĀNĀTHA JHĀ. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXIII. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxviii + 1417–2429. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1936. Rs. 16.

With this volume the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University brings a monumental task to a successful conclusion, the translation of the *bhāṣyas* and important early commentaries on the six orthodox philosophical systems of

[1] Cf. its use in clauses in comparison of which there are many examples in Minard, pp. 111–14, and see Keith, *HOS.*, xxv, 91–3.

Hinduism. As he himself says in the Introduction, "My life's work is finished, with the completion of this work. I am thankful that I have lived to complete it." Happy is the scholar who can pen such words. In this great series of translations, many of which are now difficult of access and should be republished, that one which most scholars would agree offered the greatest difficulties was reserved to the last and has perhaps profited thereby; for the rendering, while perfectly clear in meaning, keeps more closely to the wording of the text than was the case with some of its predecessors. But this is neither the time nor the place for a critical estimate of MM. Gangānāth Jhā's achievement, and the present reviewer prefers to confine himself to the expression of his gratitude for the opportunity of offering his warmest congratulation to the veteran scholar on this auspicious occasion.

A. 954. E. H. JOHNSTON.

NĀNĀRTHASAṄGRAHA OF AJAYAPĀLA. Edited by T. R. CHINTĀMAṆI. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 10. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 114 + 28. Madras: University of Madras, 1937. Rs. 1/8.

The Madras University Sanskrit Series is busily engaged in exploiting the rich manuscript resources of South India and the editor of the present volume is one of the most assiduous workers in this field. The *Nānārthasaṅgraha* is a homonymous lexicon which is of interest as being the first existing to have adopted the alphabetical order in its presentation of material. The words beginning with each letter are grouped together, although the alphabetical arrangement is not carried through within these subsections themselves. The work is earlier than the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (*c.* 1140) in which it is quoted. It is profusely quoted in a number of other lexical works too, often in readings differing materially from the present edition. Further, a considerable number of verses quoted as belonging to Ajaya do not find a place

in the present text at all. Also a fragmentary edition published by the Samskṛta Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, differs considerably in readings. We may take it, then, that a proper critical edition is still to be produced.

A. 937. T. Burrow.

Art, Archæology, Anthropology

The Chinese on the Art of Painting. Translations and Comments. By Osvald Sirén. 9½ × 6, pp. 261, pls. vii. Peiping: Henri Vetch, 1936. 13*s.* 6*d.*

It has been the author's purpose to reveal to the student the mental attitude of the Chinese towards their art of painting. As with all art, the growth of Chinese painting has its roots deep in the remote past, tapping fantastic stories and burrowing down to mythical regions.

From very early times Chinese art historians seem to have enjoyed recording their views on painting and painters, and although most of the earliest records have been lost, there still remains a mass of documents the complete translation of which would " take more than a lifetime ". The selections here presented cover a period extending from Han times down to Ch'ing, with references to much earlier records.

The author, after a delightful Introduction, has divided his book into the following sections: From the Han to the T'ang Dynasty; The Sung Period; Ch'an Buddhism and its relation to Painting; The Yuan Period; The Ming Period; The Ch'ing Period. Appendices I–IV provide translations of Chinese treatises, and there is a useful index.

Through this long period the same basic principles of painting enjoyed almost unanimous acceptance. The Six Principles are referred to by Hsieh Ho, writing at the end of the fifth century A.D., who states that they have " existed since early times ". They are here rendered as: " 1. Spirit Resonance (or Vibration of Vitality) and Life movement. 2. Bone Manner (Structural) use of the Brush. 3. Conform

with the Objects (to obtain) Likeness. 4. Apply the Colours according to the Characteristics. 5. Plan and Design, Place and Position (i.e. Composition). 6. To Transmit Models by Drawing." The historian says that there are very few artists "who could master them all".

As the author warns us, it is not always easy to grasp the meaning of some of the Chinese expressions, which are (as translated) often rather elusive.

The first of the Six Principles, Spirit Resonance, is defined as a "spiritual force imparting life, character, and significance to material forms". It is widely agreed that masterpieces can be produced only in a kind of frenzy impelling the hand to work unconsciously. The moment the frenzy begins to cool the artist must cease or his work will be spoilt. The painter may even leave his picture incomplete, provided it is complete in his own consciousness, when it will carry its complete message to the beholder—if he, the beholder, have the correct response.

In the case of the painter Wu Chên (1280–1354) his attainment of the essential spiritual condition to create masterpieces seems to have required some external material assistance. Wu Chên "lived at the Plum Blossom cottage. At his window stood a stone goblet filled with resinous wine. When he got drunk he swung the brush and painted the air of the mountains, the haze, the mist and the clouds, without a flaw". His elevated condition would seem to have induced the choice of subject.

Copying the works of early masters is considered meritorious, and even as early as the time of Ku K'ai-chih there are instructions for the guidance of students in the practice of tracing. But it is laid down that literal copying is not intended—the theme should serve as an inspiration and the copyist should put his own spirit into the work.

The chapter on the Sung Period has an essay attributed to Ching Hao, given in the form of an imaginary conversation between an old sage, disguised as a rustic, and a youthful

painter who meet in a forest. A translation in full is given in Appendix IV. This chapter also deals with the " gentleman painters ", superior persons who wrote much on art, but ever conscious of their own social and academic status, would conclude a dissertation with such a remark as " But this is difficult to explain to common people ". It is an extremely interesting chapter, concerned mainly with landscape painting, which reached a very high level during the Sung Period.

The author touches on the subject of philosophic and religious thought that so profoundly influenced Chinese painting and art criticism and devotes a special chapter to the philosophy of Ch'an Buddhism.

In the following, Ch'ing Period, two writers are quoted: Shên Hao and Tao-chi. Both were monks; the first, temporarily, for he is reported to have " preferred the company of care-free idlers and beautiful women ". Yet he regrets that he " was born in the world of men. What chance ", says he, " have I to mount the phœnix ? I sing in vain my shepherd song for the Peach Blossom girls." Nevertheless he has an excellent opinion of himself as his writings show.

One is tempted to exceed the prescribed limits of a short review to quote many of the attractive passages in this extremely interesting work.

Chinse art critics justly insist on the close relationship between Chinese writing and painting. Modern writers refer to this and even speak of a " calligraphic style "—an expression which (to the reviewer) would seem to be rather meaningless and even an inversion, in view of the evidence that Chinese writing derives from a pictographic origin. The term " calligraphic " in this connection would seem to mean simply " line " in contradistinction to " wash ". The similar quality of line in Chinese drawing and writing respectively, is due, and inevitably, to the use of the same implement for both operations and to the freedom of wrist demanded in either case for admirable performance.

Mr. Osvald Sirén is to be congratulated upon producing

such a collection of notes and translations—fascinating reading and invaluable to the student of Chinese painting. A few more illustrations would have been welcomed, especially if these could have clarified the meaning of some of the quaint technical terms used by the historians.

A. 632. F. H. ANDREWS.

ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY, India excepted. Edited by L. A. MAYER. Vol. I, 1935. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. iii + 64. Jerusalem: Divan Publishing House, 1937.

This most welcome publication consists of a bibliography of all books and articles on Muslim architecture, art, and archæology that have appeared during 1935, India being excluded, for India is adequately dealt with in Vogel's work, published annually by the Kern Institute of Leyden.

The items are arranged under subjects, the chief main headings being Architecture, Topography, Fine Arts, Collections, Numismatics, Dress, Heraldry, Islamic Influences, Excavations, etc., and at the end is an index of authors whereby the publications of each may be found at once.

If one glances through this book, and notes the immense range of periodical publications over which articles on Muslim art and archæology are scattered, the usefulness of such a bibliography at once becomes apparent; it will form an absolutely indispensable aid to all who are engaged in the study of Muslim art and archæology, and Dr. Mayer is to be congratulated for having undertaken so laborious a task.

A. 935. K. A. C. CRESWELL.

A HITTITE GLOSSARY: WORDS OF KNOWN OR CONJECTURED MEANING WITH SUMERIAN AND AKKADIAN WORDS OCCURRING IN HITTITE TEXTS. By E. H. STURTEVANT. William Dwight Witney Linguistic Series. Special Publication of the Linguistic Society of America. 10½ × 7, pp. 192. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1936.

Professor Sturtevant's Hittite Glossary has become an indispensable companion to any student of Hittite, who like the present writer has begun the subject since the literature became extensive. The errors and omissions which were noticed in the first edition have been corrected, there are more cross-references, and the whole work has been brought up to date. Furthermore, the author has had the assistance of Dr. G. Bechtel, Dr. A. Walther, and Professor A. Götze, and the book now contains some valuable original suggestions—particularly by the last-named scholar—bearing on words or passages in texts which have not yet been edited. Such suggestions are indicated by initials in parentheses.

The book is still primarily an index to the literature about Hittite words, and is not to be regarded as a lexicon. The Sumerian and Accadian words which occur in the Hittite texts are also included, but (as stated in the introduction) references to literature are given for them "only if some peculiarity of the Hittite documents makes this necessary". Such peculiarities have sometimes, however, been overlooked, and one could still wish for fuller references here. In the additions and corrections at the end the letter *p* appears twice as *fr* and once as *fi*; the only other misprint I have noted is s.v. *sessar*: for 187 read 184, fn. 1. But these are insignificant details in a work which seems likely to justify fully the author's modest hope that it will be of service for more than five years.

A. 752. O. R. GURNEY.

Cuneiform

La Légende de Keret, Roi des Sidoniens. Publiée d'après une tablette de Ras-Shamra. Par Charles Virolleaud. Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban, Service des Antiquités. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, Tome XXII. Mission de Ras-Shamra, Tome II. 11 × 9, pp. 102, pls. 4. Paris: Geuthner, 1936. Frs. 90.

The Legend of Keret, discovered some three years ago on cuneiform tablets unearthed at Ras Shamra, is a long poem telling of a war anciently fought in the south of Palestine between Keret, king of the Sidonians, and a horde of invading peoples headed by a certain Terach.

Keret is the eponymous ancestor of the Cherethites mentioned in the Old Testament. In 1 Samuel xxx, 14, they are said to have occupied the Negeb, or Southland. Terach, on the other hand, seems to connect with Terach, the father of Abraham, in the Biblical account. In the Ras Shamra story he is a semi-divine character, his name being related to the common Semitic word *y-r-ḫ* "moon". He has as wife and mistress the goddesses Nikkar (i.e. Nin-Gal) and Sin respectively. These correspond to the deities Nin-Gal and Sin (the latter feminized!) worshipped especially in Ur and Harran, and this fact, as M. Virolleaud acutely points out, harmonizes with the Biblical saga which places the provenance of Terach in precisely those two cities!

There is also mention in this text of two peoples called Asher and Zebulun, in whom we may see prototypes of the Palestinian tribes later absorbed into the federation of Israel. There are likewise references to Edom.

The importance of the text can thus scarcely be exaggerated. M. Virolleaud has edited it with his usual care and skill, and has been especially happy in his identification of many obscure words and passages. At the end of the volume he gives us his

own beautiful facsimile of the tablet, together with a photograph of the original and a glossary. Obviously this is a pioneer effort, and there are a number of points which will require correction and amplification in future.

I would suggest more particularly that *bt ḥbr* ("parliament") in l. 82 equates with Biblical בֵּית הָאֲסֻפִּים, that *ḥpšt* in l. 112 is equivalent to Arabic حسف "glean" (cf. Ethiopic *ḥ-b-z* and *h-z-b* "gather", etc.), that *zġt* (of a dog's barking) in l. 122 stands for **zġdt* and equates with Arabic زغد, that *klb ṣpr* ("a dog going round": As. *ṣapâru*) in l. 123 may be explained from Ps lix, 7, that *'bd 'lm* ("a perpetual slave") can be interpreted from Deut. xv, 17, 1 Samuel xxvii, 12, etc., and that *šrml* (name of a metal) in l. 148 is an Anatolian word meaning "metal of *Š-r-m*/Salamis in Cyprus", i.e. copper (the *-l* is the Asianic gen. sing. suffix, cf. *barzel* "iron" and Georgian *beredj*). In l. 93, the hosts of the army are likened to *yr*. This is the Hebrew *yoreh* "early rain"; for parallels see Tallquist, *Haḳedem*, i, 13. The meaning is that they are countless as raindrops.

It would be idle to suppose that the present *editio princeps* is final and definitive. Much has still to be done in interpreting this text, and its relationship to Israelitic saga. Indeed, Professor Albright has already published an alternative interpretation in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, October, 1936, in which he dissents entirely from the view of Virolleaud. Nevertheless, this does not detract from the value of an edition distinguished for its meticulous care and its wealth of ingenuity.

4 769. THEODOR H. GASTER.

Biblical Archæology

EXCAVATIONS AT SEPPHORIS, PALESTINE, IN 1931. PRELIMINARY REPORT. Ed. LEROY WATERMAN. University of Michigan Publications. 10¾ × 8, pp. xii + 86, pls. 30, figs. 6. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1937. $2.

Sepphoris is first mentioned by Josephus, according to whom it was a place of considerable importance in 100 B.C. It may, therefore, be supposed that its existence goes back a century or so before that time, for which a coin list going back to Seleucos IV (187–175) is some evidence. From the first century B.C. to the sixth century A.D. its history can be traced in literary sources, and this has been well outlined in the present report by S. Yeivin in the section on History and Archæology. But this writer's efforts to deduce a pre-exilic origin for the town is singularly unconvincing. It is based on the discovery of a solitary Early Iron Age II sherd in a cistern, and on the strength of this a Jewish tradition which might suggest an ancient origin for the place is said to acquire "strong confirmation". Such use of archæological evidence cannot be too much deplored.

It must in fact be admitted that the excavations have thrown hardly any light on the history of the town. This is not surprising in view of the excavator's statement that "Sepphoris, like all large and important sites that have been extensively built over in the Hellenistic and Romano-Byzantine periods, shows *practically no stratification*". This is a completely erroneous statement, for though the stratification may be difficult of interpretation, it undoubtedly exists in such places, and unless it is recorded, the excavation does far more harm than good. Similarly, it is quite inadequate to describe pottery as Hellenistic—first century A.D.

The buildings uncovered by the excavation were a theatre, a building identified as a Christian Basilica, and one beneath the modern citadel. The theatre was apparently on the normal

classical Roman plan, except that there were no stage buildings behind the *scenae frons*. The writer of the section on Architecture and Topography does not seem to be very clear on the difference between a Roman and a Greek theatre, as in the classical Roman theatre, the performance never took place in the orchestra. A dating during the period either of Herod the Great or Herod Antipas (the two writers do not seem to be in agreement) is suggested, but no architectural or archaeological evidence is adduced. Likewise, no evidence is adduced for the identification of the Christian Basilica. On plan it looks considerably more like an irregularly built atrium house, and the fact that its floors were sunk a foot or so into the rock, cannot be taken as evidence that it was a place where "rites were practised in secret". However, it is not possible to be dogmatic about the plan, as early Christian Churches varied considerably.

It is possible that some of these shortcomings will be remedied in a fuller report, which, as this is a preliminary report, is presumably forthcoming. But since such a long interval has elapsed since the excavations, without a continuation which is implied, it is possible that the idea has been abandoned. If, however, excavations are to be continued, it is earnestly to be hoped that the excavators will not be so convinced that no stratification exists on this site.

A. 892. K. M. Kenyon.

Patrologiae Cursus Completus accurante I-P. Migne Series Graeca. Index Locupletissimus. Theodorus Hopfner. Tomus I. 11 × 7½, pp. 541. Paris; Paul Geuthner, 1928. Frs. 300.

We gather from the preface that this part of Dr. Hopfner's work was printed in 1928, but the publisher's outer cover is dated 1934. All students of Greek Patristics will be under a debt to the professor of Classical Philology at Prag for furnishing them with what will prove an indispensable aid to Migne's

Patrologia, since the similar work published in Modern Greek at Athens, 1879, is incomplete, and now rarely to be met with. Not only does Dr. Hopfner analyse the contents of the patristic treatises themselves but he gives some account of the dissertations by Migne and his collaborators which precede them. We are still dependent on Migne for many of the authors not specially edited by others; and a full index like the present one will help the student in any branch of Christian theology and cognate subjects to find his way about that stupendous undertaking. The volume of the Index before us contains over five hundred pages of closely-printed double columns, and by its format and freedom from misprints does great credit to the printers at Louvain. When completed the work will be a *κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί*; and we look forward to the fulfilment of the professor's laborious toil.

A. 773. A. W. Greenup.

Islam

Beiträge zur Islamischen Atomlehre. By Dr. Salomon Pines $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 149. Berlin: A. Heine for Otto Harrassowitz. 1936.

Atomic theory has a basic importance in the *kalām* of *al-Ash'ariyya*, which is the foundation of orthodox Sunnitic Islām. Until recently Abū Rashīd's *Kitāb al-masā'il*, al-Ījī's *Kitāb al-mawāqif*, and partly Ibn al Murtaḍā's *Al-baḥr az-zakhkhār* were our sources on this subject. With the edition of Abul-Ḥusayn's *Kitāb al-intiṣār* by H. S. Nyberg and of al-Ash'ari's *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn* by H. Ritter, our knowledge of the Mu'tazilite atomic theory, the basis of the atomic theory of *al-Ash'ariyya*, has been considerably extended.

The author in his book continues and completes the researches of O. Pretzl (see *Der Islam*, xix, 1931, pp. 117–130) into the early Islāmic atomic theory. In the first part of his book he expounds the atomic systems of such prominent *mutakallimūn* as Abū Rashīd, Abul-Hudhayl, Mu'ammar,

Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, Abū Hāshim, Naẓẓām, Ibn Ḥazm, and others, dwelling on their views on atomic terminology, the relation between atom and body, the composition of atoms, the possibility of their touching each other, the proofs of the existence of atoms, their qualities, and the problem of causality.

In the second part of his book the author confronts the atomic system of ar-Rāzī, according to which the three principles of matter, space, and time are co-eternal with God, with the criticism of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw on and the objections of Īrānshahrī to this doctrine. The author derives ar-Rāzī's atomic theory from the teaching of the Ḥarrānians as well as Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. After comparing ar-Rāzī's system to that of the *kalām* he demonstrates how Platonic "physical tradition" survives in later Islāmic philosophy, and draws up a catalogue of ar-Rāzī's works.

In the third part of his book the author accounts for the Greek—Democritic and Epicurean—origin of the atomic theory of the *kalām* and reviews the different Indian atomic systems, making conjectures on their possible connections with the *kalām*. In an appendix he dwells on the relation of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, a determinist philosopher, to the early *Mu'tazila*.

S. Pines' book is a valuable contribution to the history of Islāmic philosophy. Atomic theory is a domain on which recently few Orientalists have worked. With its constant references to the Greek philosophical systems, the book is of good use also for classical scholars and philosophers who are desirous of studying the survival of Greek philosophical notions and systems in Islām.

A. 717. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

Arabic Grammar: Inductive Method. By E. E. Elder. The American University at Cairo: Oriental Studies. 9¾ × 6½, pp. xviii + 352. Cairo: American University at Cairo, 1937. *8s.*

There is in this work a laudable attempt to simplify the task of learning Arabic, more especially modern literary Arabic. The principle adopted is that of the "inductive" method, by which the classical language is treated as a living, spoken tongue. Declensions and paradigms are abolished, and the grammar is based on numbers of illustrative sentences colloquially phrased, but in the words of the classical usage. In the present work the distinction between classical and colloquial has not always been maintained, and the results are apt to be confusing, as in the following instances:—

p. 20: أليس عند التاجر حاجات كثيرة فى الدكان، كان

عند خليل بضاعة من كلّ صنف منذ سنة ولكن ليس الآن،

Translated: "Doesn't the merchant have many things in the shop? Khalīl had merchandise of every sort a year ago, but not now."

p. 28: هل يا تُرَى لأنّ الطبيب ماهر

Translated: "I wonder, is that because the doctor is clever?"

This is not classical Arabic, nor would it be understood very well by persons not familiar with the Egyptian dialect.

The plan of the work makes it necessary for the learner to work with a teacher who will explain difficulties as they arise, and also provide a vocabulary or have a dictionary at hand. But with the present system the teacher may have to go to other sources to obtain his explanations (incidentally, no index is provided here), and also, seeing that his presence is assumed, it appears unnecessary to have reverted to the Arabic terminology in the grammar. مضارع is not more

illuminating than "Imperfect"—in fact it is less so—nor نصب than "Accusative".

The passages for reading are well chosen, and here the author has provided something really useful. On the whole the selections are free from misprints, those prime stumbling-blocks in the beginner's way, but the following corrections should be made in the text:—

p. 138. For الْمُوْت read الْمَوْت

„ رَوْحل „ روحل

p. 168 „ تهديدِهُمَا „ تهديدِهِما

p. 194 „ بِنْج „ بَنْج

p. 196 „ سَبَعَةَ عشر „ سَبْعَةَ

and the following in the translations:—

p. 139. For "The king was perplexed *at his command*" read "about what he should do" (فى أمرِهِ).

p. 293. For "which is expected to be *limited*" read "renewed" (المنتظر تجديده).

These remarks may well end as they began, with praise for the author's endeavour. It cannot be yet said, however, that the ideal method for reducing the labour of learning classical Arabic has been evolved, and it is clear that to read the *Aghānī* or Ṭabarī the grammars of Wright and others of the older school will still be necessary.

A. 970. R. LEVY.

THE QUR'ĀN: TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL RE-ARRANGEMENT OF THE SURAHS. By RICHARD BELL. Vol. I. 8¾ × 6; pp. xii + 343. Edinburgh, 1937. T. and T. Clark. 12*s*. 6*d*.

This is the first volume of a work which marks a new beginning in our study of the Qur'ān. In 1860, the publication of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorans* provided for the first time a really scientific basis for study of the Scripture of Islām, and all critical work on it since then, outside mere textual work, has started from that basis. The studies of Hirschfeld, Horovitz, Barth, Bauer, Schwally and Grimme are all dependent on the results won by Noldeke. In like manner future studies of the Qur'ān are bound to start from the work of Dr. Bell in this new translation.

Its title is perhaps a little misleading, for many may be led to think that it is merely another version on the style of Rodwell, with the Sūras re-arranged in some sort of chronological order. The Sūras, however, follow the usual order in which they come in the text of the Qur'ān, the re-arrangement being within the Sūras themselves. This needs a little explanation to make it clear to the reader who is not an expert in Qur'ānic matters.

It is well known, and was well known to the Muslim commentators, that in the individual Sūras there was material from various periods of the Prophet's activity. The rubrics to the Sūras tell us whether the Sūra was held to come from the Meccan or from the Madīnan period of the Prophet's life, but it was well known that in Sūras marked as Meccan there was often Madīnan material, and vice versa. The Muslim savants had even discovered little peculiarities of phraseology which they held could be used to distinguish Meccan from Madīnan material. To the Western scholar the matter did not end there. The Prophet had been giving forth his revelations during some twenty odd years of his public ministry, and it was obvious that his thought had developed much

during that period, and even more obvious that his style had changed, on which grounds Nöldeke had worked out a scheme of Early Meccan, Middle Meccan, Late Meccan, and Madīnan material, which could be fairly readily distinguished. Careful reading of the text, however, reveals that even this is not sufficient. Changes in rhyme, abrupt breaks in the sense of passages, sudden changes in the subject, make it clear that individual Sūras as we have them have been pieced together from fragments of revelation material coming from the most diverse periods and situations.

Dr. Bell has sought to separate these out, and by the use of spacing, arrangement in columns, and such devices, show us the make up of the Sūras and to some extent their development. The work suffers from the great disadvantage that problems of cost of production made it impossible for him to print his extensive notes, which explain the grounds for his divisions and interpretations, but by little rubrics and occasional footnotes he is able to give some guidance and at least make his system intelligible.

It is his conviction that the Prophet, contrary to almost universal Muslim belief, was able to read and write, and that he himself was busy before his death in preparation of material for a book of Scripture for his community. We can perhaps divide up the Prophet's prophetic activity into three periods, a *kāhin* period, when he was uttering short, pregnant gnomic deliverances much in the style of the soothsayers of ancient Arabia; a *Qur'ān* period, when under the influence of the People of the Book, he was setting forth his revelations very much as the Scripture lessons he had heard among the People of the Book; and a *Kitāb* period, when he had grasped the fact that a Prophet was not only a preacher but a legislator, and had a Scripture for the direction of his community. For the preparation of this *Kitāb* Dr. Bell believes he gathered together the material available of his earlier pronouncements, revised it, corrected it, added to it, revised it again perhaps, amended it to suit his more advanced views, polished it up

stylistically, worked it over to fit it in with new material he wanted to use, and thus made ready for the issuing of his book. He was cut off, however, before it was done, and this material had to be published by his early followers.

Now in those days writing material was not as plentiful as it is now, and it would often happen that he would have to use the back of scraps of discarded material, and for lengthy pieces might even have to use the backs of several pieces of used papyrus of different date and origin. A revised version of a revelation might often be written on the back of a first draft, or a substitution on the back of the piece for which it was substituted. Corrections might be written interlinear, or in the margin, or on the back. All this material, the final forms as well as one or two, or even more, preliminary drafts, the discarded pieces as well as the polished final product, the scraps of varied origin, would have been in the Prophet's collection when he died. The followers who edited the volume, Dr. Bell thinks, carefully arranged all this material and published it, being careful above all to omit no scrap of material that was there. Thus they included the discarded with the final form, the unrevised with the revised, copied in all the alterations and marginal annotations, and where a revelation had been written on the back of a used piece of papyrus, they would copy the one side after the other, even when the pieces of revelation had no connection whatever with one another. In this latter case, if it happened that for a longer passage than usual several scraps of papyrus were needed, all of which had already writing on the other side, we may find this long piece followed by a number of short disconnected pieces, since they wrote in what was on the backs immediately after the passage itself, or we may find the connected piece broken up by disconnected pieces, since they wrote in the writing on the back of each piece as they finished with it.

By typographical devices it is possible in Dr. Bell's pages to bring together the pieces in a Sūra that belong together,

and separate out the pieces that are extraneous, and indeed, by little notes it is even possible to suggest where some of these disconnected pieces may have originally belonged. The great difficulty is the assigning of relative dates to the passages. Where they are fairly long passages it is possible to consider what period of the Prophet's activity they best fit, but when they are short scraps, stylistic criteria are often very difficult to apply, even according to the scheme worked out by Nöldeke, and only rarely are there clear allusions that enable them to be dated as associated with known incidents in the Prophet's career. The Commentaries often state the occasion of the revelation of passages, but the longer one works at the Commentaries the less one is inclined to lean upon them for support. Moreover, they have the distressing habit of telling us that the occasion was this, or that, or the other, leaving us to choose among the various possibilities they suggest, so that we are back in our original uncertainty.

The chief objection that will be raised against Dr. Bell's work is that his distribution is so subjective. Had it been possible for him to have published his lengthy notes, much of this sense of subjectivity might have been removed, for with the grounds of his judgment before us it might be apparent that there are certain guiding principles which work so consistently that they may be relied upon. As it is we have the sense that he has divided up a passage because it seems to him to be a composite, whereas to us it may seem that the connection is sufficiently close for the passage to be claimed as a unity. This is particularly the case where he separated out little phrases that have the appearances of glosses or expansions of a statement, and considers them as later workings over of an original passage. But even in one's own day one knows of people whose natural style has that peculiarity that they will make a statement and in the next breath add a little explanatory phrase, or say the same thing over again in a somewhat expanded form. A speaker will often do this, and one feels that in many such cases in the text of the Qur'ān

the passage may not be an expanded form worked over by the Prophet on a written original, but may have come thus from his lips. Of course, there are cases enough where the use of later phraseology or more advanced conceptions clearly marks out emendation of an early passage.

The question in the reviewer's mind, however, even in cases where there is undoubted emendation, is whether this is due to the Prophet, and not to the compilers of our text. A good case is Sūra XX, 130, where to the most casual reader of the Arabic text it is obvious that the verse originally read "and give glory with the praise of thy Lord before the rising of the sun and before its setting, mayhap thou wilt be satisfied". This is in accordance with the original practice of two prayer times only. The verse as we have it has been patched so as to get in the five times of prayer, and to the reviewer, at least, it looks very much as though this piece of revelation material came to the compilers from some pious member of the community, who knew that five times of prayer had been decreed, and tried to get them all into this passage he had. It is a little difficult to think the Prophet himself would have left so ugly and awkward a passage, though, of course, Dr. Bell can reply that this was only a draft of his, and had he lived to complete his *Kitāb* a properly polished passage would have been provided.

Dr. Bell is convinced that the text as we have it is as the Prophet himself had been working at it, but it may be questioned whether we should not have precisely the same result if we accept the orthodox theory that the compilation of the Qur'ān was done after the Prophet's death by his Companions, who called for all who had pieces of revelation material, and then pieced together as best they could the material that came to them from bits of papyrus, shoulder blades of camels, white stones, and from the breasts of men. There is such early and unanimous tradition that when the Prophet died there was no revelation yet available, so that it had to be gathered, that it is difficult to believe that the

Prophet himself had assembled all this material, and yet it was never heard of till later tendential tradition produces the idea that he and Gabriel collated it every year once. This question deserves further exploration.

What Dr. Bell has done for us, however, is to make the Qur'ān for the first time an intelligible book, and that in itself is a strong argument in favour of the substantial validity of his method. Very many non-Arabists will bear witness to the fact that it is an extremely difficult book to read with any interest when one reads it even in Rodwell's translation, which does attempt to set it in some sort of chronological sequence. Arranged as it is in this new version, however, one can read it with interest, and find it intelligible. Probably the ideal thing would have been to completely re-arrange it, paying no attention whatever to the present Sūra grouping of the material, but putting together what naturally belongs together. For practical purposes such an arrangement is not possible, and it would necessarily bring in even more of the subjective element than that which many will object to in Dr. Bell's arrangement. Moreover, it would not do what this arrangement does, show us how the book as we have it was built up out of its elements, whether those elements were the material gathered by the Prophet and worked over by him for his *Kitāb*, or the fragments of revelation assembled by 'Uthmān's commission, and woven together by them to the best of their ability into a Scripture for the community.

A word must be said on the translation itself. Professor Fischer of Leipzig has recently pointed out the serious inadequacies of previous translations (*Der Wert der vorhandenen Koran-Übersetzungen*, in the *Berichte* of the Saxon Academy, 1937, Heft 2), and it must be admitted that Muslims are not entirely without justification for their resentment at their Scripture having suffered so much from its translators. Particularly in recent years have we been feeling the inadequacy of the earlier translations, which too often were content to set forth what orthodox Islām says the verses of

such and such a passage meant, without inquiring what the passage must have meant to the Prophet when he set it forth. Dr. Bell has attempted this latter task and, while keeping himself aware of what the standard Commentaries have to say on the matter, has always made an independent attempt to get back to what was in the mind of the Prophet himself. Thus, even where further investigation may decide that his translation of a particular passage is wrong, his work has the present merit of providing us with a *starting* point *for* such investigations, and much illuminative suggestion as to the thought world in which the Prophet moved.

The first volume of this translation, which is now before us, contains Sūras I–XXIV; the second volume, containing from Sūra XXV to the end of the Qur'ān, and thus dealing with the Prophet's earlier pronouncements, will be eagerly awaited.

B. 73. ARTHUR JEFFERY.

MOHAMMED THE MAN AND HIS FAITH. By TOR ANDRAE. Translated by T. MENZEL. 8 × 5¾, pp. 274, ill. 1. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1936. 8*s.* 6*d.*

It is good to have Professor Andrae's book in English. The translation reads well though there is one bad mistake (Yemama, not Yemen, was the scene of Musailimah's activity), and in places the German system of transliteration has been kept. The author dissects the character of Muḥammad in the light gained from the study of other religious geniuses. His conclusions are these. Muḥammad, not being an original thinker, took the main subjects of his preaching from the missionaries of the eastern church, the goodness of God as revealed in his creation, the duty of man, and the judgment. He had heard such addresses, and the ideas lay dormant till he came out as the messenger of God. His theory of revelation, that God gave the same revelation to all nations with minor differences suited to their special circumstances, is like that of several sects, of which the last was the Manichees, from

whom he derived it. It is abnormal for a mystic to make no reference to the event which made him what he became, so the story that Gabriel took Muḥammad by the throat and commanded him to "Recite" is an invention to explain *Sura* 96. His call was the vision mentioned in *Suras* 81 and 53. The author does not try to explain why the first revelation was visual when all the others were auditory. One feels that too much stress is laid on the idea that death is followed by sleep in the grave; had Muḥammad taught this consciously, it would have made more impression on his followers.

A. 613. A. S. TRITTON.

تحفة الانفس وشعار سكان الاندلس L'ORNEMENT DES ÂMES ET LA DEVISE DES HABITANTS D'EL-ANDALUS: TRAITÉ DE GUERRE SAINTE ISLAMIQUE. Par 'ALY BEN 'ABDER RAḤMAN BEN HODEÏL EL ANDALUSY. REPRODUCTION DU MANUSCRIT DE M. NEHLIL, REVU ET CORRIGÉ. Par LOUIS MERCIER. 11 × 8, pp. 8 + 99. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936. Frs. 40.

The text here reproduced in an elegant Maghribī script is the first volume of a work of which the second had previously been edited by M. Mercier with the title *La Parure des Cavaliers*. In an Arabic preface the editor furnishes such details as he has been able to discover about the author and his literary activity. This latter appears to have terminated in A.D. 1399 not long before the end of Muslim rule in Spain.

Since the author regards the *jihād*, i.e. war against all non-Muslims, as a religious duty, his work is far more homiletic and theological than a treatise on either strategy or tactics. Indeed in the first half there would seem to be only two paragraphs of any importance dealing with such matters; in one of these he states reasons for employing Jews or Christians rather than Muslims as spies; in the other he describes the organization of a Muslim army (of only 5,000 men) with the names of the officers and their flags. Since

the unit is of eight men, such a body would resemble a Spartan army, all commanders of commanders.

We seem to be promised some further information about war in the title of chapter 17, "Description of war, its management, and the use of craft therein," but here too there are pages of platitudes and edifying stories before we come to anything which might be thought a serious contribution to the subject. The first suggestion here is that the Muslim commander should endeavour to corrupt the hostile officers and render them suspect to their troops by various forgeries and the discharge of arrows to which papers containing false information are attached. This is followed by a precept that the best fighters should be placed at the centre and not at the flanks, and then by anecdotes which indicate that good fighters were rare in both the Muslim and the Christian armies of the peninsula. One Christian commander won a great victory because he had eight men of this quality, whereas his Muslim opponent had only seven; on another occasion when a vizier had given offence to his sovereign by denying that there were as many as fifty fighters in an army of many thousands, it turned out that there was only one. Some tactical suggestions are then cited from Ṭurṭūshi.

In addition to his Arabic preface the editor has given eleven pages of corrections of the text, which certainly help the reader. He also promises a French translation.

A. 894. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

Miscellaneous

DIE OASE SIWA UND IHRE MUSIK. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde. By BRIGITTE SCHIFFER. 8 × 6, pp. iv + 114 (96 letterpress + 18 music), ills. 16. Bottrop i. Westfalen, Wilhelm Postberg, 1936.

This famous oasis in the Libyan Desert has long interested archæologists on account of the oracle temple of Jupiter Ammon, but ethnologists have rather neglected it. Indeed, the present writer only knows of two workers in this field of

research, viz. Maḥmūd Muḥammad 'Abdallāh in *Harvard African Studies*, i, and Bricchetti-Robechi in the *Archivo per l'antropologia e etnologia*, 1887, and *Bolletino della Società geog. ital.*, 1889. The work of Dr. Brigitte Schiffer is therefore very welcome, not only because it is the first attempt to deal with the music of these Berbers, who have rather different customs from their brethren elsewhere, but because a third of the book is taken up by a really valuable contribution to ethnology in the domain of ornament.

The author describes instrumental music as performed by means of clappers, tambourine, drum, and flute, and with the latter we are given the precise measurements of the vents, which enable us to determine two very interesting pentatonic scales. Siwan vocal music is also discussed, the antiphonal form being especially interesting, although its social significance is not recognized. Of greater importance is the author's analysis of the gamut and form of the music, whilst the examples of the music itself, together with the words of the songs, and a very complete description of each item, makes this small book a most valuable addition to our literature of the music of the Berber people.

The only criticism that I feel inclined to offer is that the music plates ought to have been printed rather than reproduced from the author's handwriting which, having been reduced, is so microscopic that it is quite a strain on the eyes to read.

A. 896. HENRY G. FARMER.

THE BOOK OF TRUTHFULNESS (KITĀB AL-ṢIDQ) by ABŪ SA'ĪD AL-KHARRĀZ. Edited and translated by A. J. ARBERRY. Islamic Research Association No. 6. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. vii + 70 + 83. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1937.

The *Kitāb al-Ṣidq* is the work of al-Kharrāz, one of the earliest of the Ṣūfī mystics—though if A.H. 286 is accepted as the date of his death, he could hardly have been an associate

of Bishr ibn al-Ḥāri<u>th</u>, as stated in the Preface, since Bishr died nearly sixty years before. The sayings of al-<u>Kh</u>arrāz are well known to all students of Ṣūfism, and this translation and edition of a work hitherto unpublished is therefore very welcome, the more so as the author here gives a concise and systematic account of Ṣūfī experience, based on the principles which are developed by most of the later writers on Ṣūfism.

The title might be better translated as *The Book of Truth* or *Sincerity*, as *Truthfulness* seems an inappropriate word to use in connection with patience, knowledge, godliness, abstinence, etc. *Sincerity* would more accurately express the meaning in most cases.

There is little doubt that al-<u>Kh</u>arrāz had made a study of the work of his great predecessor al-Muḥāsibī, whose pupil he may have been, since both belonged to the Ba<u>gh</u>dād school of Ṣūfism, and he reproduces much of the earlier Ṣūfī's teaching, especially in regard to patience, repentance, self-knowledge, gratitude, and intimacy, or fellowship, with God. Sometimes al-<u>Kh</u>arrāz actually quotes al-Muḥāsibī's words, but he gives a much more concise and readable account of his experience, showing clearly how the seeker after God passes through the preliminary stage of purgative asceticism until he reaches the stage of illumination, and thence passes on to the unitive life in God.

The translation reads very smoothly on the whole: "bewares" is a strange form for this verb to take (p. 23), and the creature can hardly be said to be "ashamed of" his Creator; the meaning is rather "abashed before" Him (p. 35).

The 'Āmir b. 'Abdallāh whose saying is quoted on p. 48 might well be 'Āmir b. 'Abdallāh b. Qays (ob. 103) of whose sayings Sha'rānī gives several similar examples (*Ṭab.*, i, 24). "al-Banānī" (p. 55) should be "al-Bunānī".

The book has been well produced by the Oxford University Press and the Arabic text is very clearly printed. All students of Ṣūfism will be grateful to Dr. Arberry for this valuable and most interesting addition to the literature of their subject.

B. 71. MARGARET SMITH.

THE MANDAEANS OF 'IRĀQ AND ĪRĀN. THEIR CULTS, CUSTOMS, MAGIC LEGENDS, AND FOLKLORE. By E. S. DROWER ("E. S. STEVENS"). 9¼ × 6, pp. xxv + 436, pls. 29, figs. 16. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937. 25s.

In a prefatory note to this book, Mrs. E. S. Drower mentions that she has been assisted in the publication by two learned bodies, the Royal Asiatic Society and the Hibbert Trustees; that she has received much help from Professor D. S. Margoliouth; and that without the constant encouragement and interest of Dr. Moses Gaster, to whom the book is dedicated, the work might never have reached completion.

The author has worked in a field which has presented great difficulties to the explorer, because the Mandaeans claim to possess secret knowledge, and only a few of their sacred writings have been published. Some of these difficulties she has to a large extent overcome by personal experience, extending over a number of years, of their customs, beliefs, cults, and magic. The cults, regarded by the Mandaeans as older and more sacred than their books, have been retained with great tenacity. Their ritual, in all its details, has been preserved most carefully by a priesthood who regard a slip in procedure as a deadly sin. Before the coming of Islām their environment was one which brought them into touch with Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Zoroastrian beliefs and rituals. Since the coming of Islām, they have been segregated from those amongst whom they dwell by what have become peculiarities of cult, custom, language, and religion. In this way, whatever their early culture-contacts may have been, the Mandaeans have for some centuries kept intact and inviolate the heritage which they received from their fathers.

Not every inquirer has been permitted to see and hear what the author has seen and heard among the Mandaeans of 'Irāq and Īrān, not every inquirer is qualified to interpret correctly what has been seen and heard. Mrs. Drower has been enabled not only to collect a vast amount of new information, but

also by her trained power of observation and her knowledge of kindred rites and ceremonies in other religions to interpret it in a way that merits very careful consideration. Particularly interesting is her description of various ritual meals.

Based, as it is, upon first-hand observation and inquiry, the book is of first-rate importance for students of the history of religions, no less than for students of anthropology, ethnology, and folk-lore. Incidentally also it should be of interest to another class of students, those who wish to study the history of the arts of healing, for the importance of health and healing is a vital part of Mandaean teaching. Indeed, as Mrs Drower says, the whole Mandaean system shows considerable knowledge of the arts of healing.

B 21. MAURICE A. CANNEY.

OCCIDENT AND ORIENT, BEING STUDIES IN SEMITIC PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE, JEWISH HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY AND FOLKLORE IN THE WIDEST SENSE IN HONOUR OF HAHAM DR. MOSES GASTER'S 80TH BIRTHDAY: GASTER ANNIVERSARY VOLUME. Edited by BRUNO SCHINDLER, Ph.D., in collaboration with A. MARMORSTEIN, Ph D. 10 × 6, pp. xviii + 570, pls. 8. London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1936. £3 3*s*.

At the reception held last year to congratulate Dr. Gaster on his eightieth birthday testimony was born to the vast variety of his attainments and achievements by representatives of governments and learned societies; while some personal friends enumerated subjects of which his mastery was not generally known. In the fifty-eight papers which constitute the first of the volumes offered to him as a *Festschrift*, many, though by no means all, of the departments of his studies are represented. The title cited above gives an adequate account of their range.

For reviewing this collection in the sense of assessing the

merits of the contributions a syndicate would be required, since many are technical in character. Several, however, are of very general interest, notably parcels of unpublished letters, such as those from Dr. Gaster to Dr. Kristeller referring to the former's utilizing his Rumanian attainments for the benefit of the Rumanian Jews at the Berlin Congress of 1878; those from Dr. Gaster to Prof. Bacher of Budapest, chiefly on literary matters: the former set are contributed by L. N. Gelber of Jerusalem, the latter by S. Loewinger of Budapest. A third collection of letters from L. Zunz to F. D. Mocatta, L. Green who financed some of Zunz's works, and Rabbi N. Adler, is produced by Ismar Elbogen of Berlin In 1857 there was no chance of raising £600 in England for a Jewish literary enterprise. English Orientalists will be deeply interested in the letters from W. Wright to M. Steinschneider from 1853 to 1863, given by Alexander Marx of New York. They are a pathetic record of the struggles of perhaps the greatest of British Semitists, whom Oxford might have welcomed to its Chair of Arabic in 1861 had it not been for the fanaticism of Dr. Pusey. Neubauer once showed me a letter in which Pusey wrote to him "*utinam Christianus esses*, as then I should have voted for your appointment to the Librarianship of the Bodleian". Wright was not the only sufferer from this type of fundamentalism.

Two papers likely to interest numerous readers are concerned with the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. One of these by S. Rawidowicz of London deals with the career, mentality, and influence of the sage, admitting that there will never be a revival of his philosophy, which at one time profoundly affected Germany and to some extent Europe. His name occurs frequently in the literature produced by the recent Goethe centenary, but perhaps is best known to the present generation of philosophers from the courteous references to him in Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* and *Prolegomena*. The paper by Bertha and Bruno Strauss of Berlin identifies the Graf Rochus Friedrich von Lynar (1708–1781), Danish

ambassador to the Swedish and Russian courts, with the *Mann von Stande* who anonymously communicated to Mendelssohn a project for establishing a Jewish state. The evidence which they adduce seems conclusive.

An obscure episode of Jewish history is brought to light by Cecil Roth of London in the paper " The Jews in Minorca under British rule ". Ceded to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, between the years 1714 and 1756 and again from 1762 to 1781 it housed a flourishing Jewish community, rescued from the hideous barbarity of Spain, only to be driven from it when the island came again under that intolerant rule. Recent happenings in Spain bear out the adage that " the devil is easier to raise than to lay ".

As might be expected, numerous papers deal with Biblical themes. S. Krauss of Vienna interprets the " Terror in the nights " (Canticles iii, 8), from which Solomon's bed was guarded by sixty warriors, of the danger from demons. [I think this unlikely to be right (1) because their swords would have been useless against demons, who are fought with spells and charms, (2) because assassins like Macbeth prefer to murder sleep, (3) because Solomon's fear of the midnight assassin could be paralleled from the procedure of many monarchs.] Mr. J. L. Landau finds the reason for the hostility of Ephraim to Judah in the removal of the metropolis by David from Shechem to Jerusalem. Dr. S. Daiches interprets Psalm cxvi, introducing the view of the import of " sacrifice " which he recently put before the R.A.S. Mr. H. M. J. Loewe, dealing with the Rabbinic exegesis of Isaiah liv, 13, suggests that the Talmudic emendation בונך for the second בניך was intended to mean not " builders ", but " men of understanding " from בין. Rabbi A. Kaminka offers new interpretations of some difficult texts in the Psalms; the most interesting is of Psalm cxxxvii, 9, which he renders " blessed is he that shall capture and disperse the (?) young fighting men at Selah " with reference to Amaziah's conquest of Sela, capital of Edom (II Chron. xxv, 11). This is certainly less inhuman than

"How blest shall he, that trooper, be", etc. Mr. Alexander Haggerty Krappe of Washington accepts the opinion that in Genesis i, 27, we should read "male and female created he him" for "them", involving the myth that Adam was originally androgynous, for which he adduces parallels from many mythologies. (I should not like to follow this exegesis into its theological consequence.) Mr. G. R. Driver of Oxford throws welcome light on passages of the Old Testament by showing how consonantal groups with different meanings have become confused. His results are likely to be accepted.

Post-biblical Judaism also is well represented. Prof. Gottheil of New York, whose loss we are lamenting, contributes four unpublished Responsa of Maimonides from the Taylor-Schechter collection in Cambridge. These from the points of view of both text and translation will reward further study. Some verses on Maimonides' *Moreh* with others by Joseph Sarphati (*ob.* 1527) are published for the first time by Umberto Cassuto of Rome. New York figures in the title of a paper by D. de Sola Pool, of that city, who traces the pedigree of Saul Brown (Pardo), first known Chazan there. Principal A. Büchler of London furnishes a profoundly learned discussion (in Hebrew) on the legal status of slaves in Palestine under Judaism. Dr. C. Duschinsky of London deals with the question whether a woman may act as slaughteress, and produces two Hebrew documents of the seventeenth century in which authorization for this purpose is granted to Italian Jewesses. Professor J. Z. Lauterbach of Cincinnati edits some hitherto unpublished parts of the *Yalkut ha-Makiri* on Hosea and Micah. He calls attention to some differences between the arrangement of this work and that of the more familiar Yalkut Shimeoni. The longest paper dealing with literature of this period is by R. Eisler of Unterach a. Attersee on the date and origin of Schechter's Sadoqite treatise. Dr. R. Travers Herford deals with the purpose and significance of Pirke Aboth.

Folklore, in which Dr. Gaster has shown great interest, is the subject of several papers. One of the editors, A.

Marmorstein of London, deals with Greek and Jewish customs and popular usages, which exhibit remarkable resemblances and contrasts. He illustrates with great learning the practice of "dressing up", that of fasting, and superstitions connected with certain vegetables and colours. He is very cautious in assigning causes. Rabbi M. Grunwald of Baden bei Wien offers an erudite contribution to this subject. In cat and dog stories he attributes the partiality for the cat shown by the Jewish storytellers to their being resident in towns, where the dog is less useful. Part of his paper deals with the sources of Jewish art, a subject admirably illustrated by E. N. Adler of London near the commencement of the volume. Other contributions connected with folklore are by M. A. Canney of London on Boats and Ships in temples and tombs, W. R. Halliday, also of London, on a Modern Greek Folk-tale from Samos, B. Heller of Budapest, who furnishes *Beiträge zur Stoff- und Quellen geschichte des Ma'assebuches*, and M. Higger of New York on "the Formation of the Child". Perhaps we may put in this category Mrs. Drower's paper on the Kaprana, "a small oblong roll of about 3¾ inches in length, made with the sacramental wafers in the Nestorian Qurbana," Dr. Oesterley's on Persian Angelology and Demonology, and I. Eitrem's (of Oslo) on "Pulling by the hair".

Cuneiform and kindred research are represented by Professor Langdon's (of Oxford) edition with translation of "a Nabu Liturgy", Dr. Theodor Gaster (son of the Haham) who proposes decipherment and interpretation of Ras Shamra tablets which are in a non-Semitic idiom, and Raffaele Pettazzoni of Rome, who writes on Confession of Sins in Hittite religion. Living idioms find treatment in Mrs. Hasluck's (of London) edition of an Albanian ballad on the assassination of Murad I in 1389, Mr. N. B. Jopson's (of London) study of Literary Style in Judæo-Spanish, Max Weinreich's (of Wilno) "Form versus Psychic Function in Yiddish", and Bruno Schindler's (of London) "Old Chinese Harvest Festival Songs", in which he finds dramatic structure. Prof. F. Kaufmann of Berlin and Dr. Erich Langstadt of Cambridge contribute philosophical

essays. The former writes on *Kunst und Religion:* if his sentence *So beziehen wir das Faktum der Kunst auf das Faktum der jüdischen Religion* means that he brings the "fact" (actual existence ?) of art into connection with that of Judaism, this must be regarded as a hard saying. The latter explains the import of the term Democracy as applied by Philo to the ideal state, and traces his theories to various sources, including the Essenes and the Platonic *Menexenus*. Professor G. Scholem of Jerusalem describes for the first time a pantheistic treatise by David ben Abraham ha-Labhan, which he locates between 1280 and 1300. It contains some remarkable speculations, in particular one on the import of sin. Professor E. O. James of Leeds in a paper called "Ethical Monotheism" deals with the origin and development of monotheism and polytheism.

A *Festschrift* dedicated to Dr. Gaster would be incomplete without some Gypsy Lore. This is supplied by Dora E. Yates of Liverpool, who contributes a Romani tale with translation.

A. 792. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HISTOIRE DES CROISADES ET DU ROYAUME FRANC DE JÉRUSALEM, III. La Monarchie Musulmane et l'Anarchie Franque. By RENÉ GROUSSET. 9 × 5¾, pp. xxxiv + 874, maps 14. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1936.

This is the third volume of a very thorough monograph on the crusades and the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem by the illustrious French Orientalist, who has distinguished himself with his comprehensive general works on Far Eastern civilizations. It was not inopportune to write a modern history of the crusades, the effects of which have been lasting up to our days. The titles of the three volumes of Grousset's work very ingeniously characterize the subsequent phases of this great struggle of Christianity with Islām: the first being Muslim anarchy and Frankish monarchy, the second Frankish monarchy and Muslim monarchy, and the third Muslim monarchy and Frankish anarchy.

The third volume opens with a long and succinct historical survey (32 pages) of the whole period of the crusades, which the

author fits into a general frame of the counteractions of East and West on each other. He ascribes the success of the first crusades to "Muslim anarchy and Frankish monarchy", whilst the failure of the last crusades was due to "Muslim monarchy and Frankish anarchy". This introductory study is very much worth being read by the general reader; it treats of the significance of the crusades and their place in general history.

Then there follows the history of the crusades from the re-establishment of the Frankish rule in the Levant and the third crusade till the end of the period, i.e. the evacuation of Syria by the Franks. The volume relates the history of the years 1188 to 1291 in twenty-two chapters. We see all the leading personalities of the age pass by, Western and Eastern alike; all the political manœuvres and military operations are detailed and accounted for by the author who, notwithstanding the exhaustively great material as he has at hand, is far from being tedious: on the contrary, his narrative is interesting to the end, and abounds in vivid and fascinating descriptions. Every student of general history can draw a great deal from Grousset's work, because its chief characteristic is strict impartiality. Taking advantage of all the important authorities on the period, not only European but Oriental, he was enabled to write his work *sine ira et studio,* from both Christian and Muslim aspects.

For the Orientalist, his work is especially important because of his constant references to all the great Muslim authorities such as Badraddīn ibn Shaddād, 'Imādaddīn, Kamāladdīn, al-Maqrīzī, Abul-Fidā, Jamāladdīn ibn Wāṣil, Bar Hebraeus, an-Nasawī, Badraddīn al-'Aynī, Rashīdaddīn, Ibn Furāt, Muḥīaddīn, and Waṣṣāf—to quote these names in the order the author refers to them. To complete the information gathered from Muslim, mostly Arabic, sources, he also quotes Cyprian and Armenian authorities. With the Oriental sources he was able to check the narratives of the European chroniclers which were, of course, all made use of by him.

Thus Grousset's book is a suitable work of reference for

comparative historical studies. For this purpose he has also inserted into the text maps showing the battle-fields of the crusades and the comparative extension of Frank and Muslim rules in the Levant during the period concerned. On the separate tables at the end of the volume the genealogies of the Houses of Jerusalem, Antiochia, Gibelet, and the Ayyūbids are detailed.

The book is a very valuable addition to general historical and Orientalist literature alike.

A. 699. JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

SHARAKU HOKUSAI HIROSHIGE. Die Spätmeister des japanischen Holzschnitts. Wien : Otto Lorenz-verlag, 1938.

A COURSE OF COLLOQUIAL CHINESE. By S. N. USOFF. Peking : Henri Vetch, 1937.

DIGGER'S FANCY. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. London : Sidgwick and Jackson, 1938.

DOCTRINA THEOLOGIAE ORIENTIS SEPARATI DE SACRAMENTIS IN GENERE. By THEOPHILUS SPAČIL. Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 113. Roma : Pont Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1937.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES, ETC., OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1677–9. BY E. B. SAINSBURY. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1938.

ERANOS JAHRBUCH, 1937. Edited by O. FRÖBE-KAPTEYN. Zürich : Rhein-Verlag, 1938.

FAMOUS CHINESE PLAYS. Translated and edited by L. C. ARLINGTON and H. ACTON. Peiping : Henri Vetch, 1937.

JAYANTIA BURANJI. A Chronicle of Jayantia. Edited by S. K. BHUYAN. Government of Assam in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, 1937. *2s. 6d.*

PRAGAITIHASIK MOHENJODARO. By KUNJAGOBINDA GOSWAMI. Publication Department, University of Calcutta, 1936.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lantern Slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which have been catalogued by Professor S. H. Langdon. Requests from Orientalists should be sent to the Secretary, with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself, for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor E. J. Rapson

Edward James Rapson was born at Leicester on 12th May, 1861. His father,[1] Edward Rapson, was a schoolmaster, who subsequently took Holy Orders and, after holding various curacies, was appointed Vicar of West Bradley in Somerset. In 1879 the younger Edward went from Hereford Cathedral School to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a Pensioner, becoming later successively a Sizar and a Foundation Scholar. Placed in the First Class of the Classical Tripos in 1883, he turned to Indian studies. The enthusiasm and energy of John Peile, Master of Christ's College, had created the Chair of Sanskrit. Peile's unselfish refusal to be himself a candidate for the Chair had permitted the election of that great master, Edward Cowell, to be the first Professor of Sanskrit in Cambridge. It was under him that young Rapson, to be himself the third in succession, read for the Indian Languages Tripos, gaining the Brotherton Prize for Sanskrit in 1884 and being placed in the First Class of the Tripos in 1885. In the same year he was elected to the Hutchinson Studentship, and in 1886 he won the Le Bas Prize with an essay on "The Struggle between England and France for supremacy in India". His attention was thus early drawn to that side of Indian studies with which his name will always be especially associated, History. In 1887 he became a Fellow of his College.

In the same year, after serving for a short while as Assistant Librarian to the Indian Institute at Oxford, he entered the British Museum as an Assistant in the Department of Coins.

Although he was to become a most competent scholar and teacher of Sanskrit, with an exceedingly accurate, if not very wide knowledge, of its immense literature, Rapson now found in his new work the interests that were to be predominant throughout his life. For coins, which play so great a part in

[1] Several of the details given here I owe to Dr L. D. Barnett's fine memoir in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxiii.

recovering the ancient history of India, led him to history; while his mastery of the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet pointed him out as the one to whom the task of editing the documents brought back by Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein from Chinese Turkestan in 1901 should be entrusted.

In 1906 the death of Bendall, Cowell's successor, again left the Chair of Sanskrit vacant at Cambridge, and Rapson was elected into it, and shortly afterwards once again into a Fellowship at his own College.

There followed thirty years of quiet and fruitful research and of constant and faithful teaching. Both were marked by a meticulous thoroughness and accuracy. Everything was prepared with the most exacting completeness. He was never hurried, never lost patience. He was not, I think, an inspired teacher; but his pupils learnt the great lesson from him of accurate scholarship that never rested till every fact was verified. Though students of Sanskrit were not numerous, his work of teaching was never light, and was often onerous. At Cambridge the professor of an Oriental language has the whole teaching of his subject in his own hands, and must himself give all the instruction required by his pupil from the most elementary to the most advanced stages. At times this used to mean for Rapson eighteen or twenty hours of teaching in the week. Yet no pupil was ever put off; and the schoolboy, as the present writer was when first invited to attend the Sanskrit classes in Mortimer Road, was welcomed equally with the most advanced and promising student.

Of the works belonging to this period there came first his *Ancient India from the Earliest Times to the First Century A.D.* Then, when the *Cambridge History of India* was planned by the University Press, Rapson was the obvious editor for its first two volumes, to which Sir Richard Burn, who succeeds to his task, will refer below. The Great War, which delayed the publication of the History, found Rapson, although by now passed his eleventh lustrum, ready to take his part, and at least one of his pupils returned on leave from the

front to report to his old professor as Assistant Adjutant at the Headquarters of the 2nd Cambridgeshire Regiment.

He was, however, still able to give time to his professorial work, and in 1920 the Clarendon Press published the first volume of *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir M. A. Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, which he had edited in collaboration with A. M. Boyer and E. Senart. The same editors produced Volume II in 1927, and Volume III followed in 1929, edited by Rapson and his pupil Professor P. Noble.

These Inscriptions or Documents (for they are mostly written on wooden tablets) are not only of the highest importance for the history of this part of Central Asia, but they present a picture of contemporary life in the third century A.D., which has scarcely any parallel in Indian documents. On the linguistic side their interest is supreme; for some of them are couched in a form of Middle Indo-Aryan brought into Central Asia probably under the Kuṣāṇa emperors. This language, strongly conservative like other dialects of the north-west of India on the phonetic side,[1] displays a far-reaching development of the final syllable and a simplification and normalization of grammatical forms, of which the more literary dialects of Prākrit, despite their greater phonetic evolution, give us little indication. They are thus a document of the highest importance in the long history of the development of Vedic Sanskrit into the modern languages of to-day.

Although Rapson did not concern himself greatly with their linguistic implications, the careful accuracy with which he transliterated the documents, the splendid appendices of the third volume, and the complete index of words, made of this first edition a mine of accurate information and a firm foundation on which other scholars have already built and will continue to build for many years to come. It was an especial pleasure to Rapson that he saw before his death the publication

[1] For example it retained unassimilated groups of consonants such as *rt*, assimilated 500 years earlier even in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā Inscriptions of Aśoka and remaining to the present day only in one small enclave of the Hindu Kush in the Khowar of Chitral.

of a work by another pupil of his, Dr. T. Burrow, on the phonology and grammar of this language. It is a proof of the growing interest and importance of the studies based on Rapson's *editio princeps* that whereas in the *Volume of Indian Studies*, offered to him on his seventieth birthday at the School of Oriental Studies by scholars from all over the world, there was only one article devoted to the Documents, in a similar volume of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, offered five years later to Sir George Grierson, six articles dealt with one or other aspect of the Documents.

In 1902 he had married Ellen Daisy Allen, and though within a few years of this date to the time of her death in 1921 Mrs. Rapson was an invalid constantly enduring pain and confined to the couch in their drawing-room, many generations of undergraduates remember with warm gratitude the hospitality she and her husband used to extend to them in their house in Mortimer Road.

In 1936, hoping that he would gain the leisure necessary to complete the work of editing Volume II of the *Cambridge History of India*, he resigned the Chair he had occupied for thirty years. A year later, on the 3rd of October, 1937, he died suddenly of a cerebral hæmorrhage. It was a singularly happy end. He left pupils carrying on the tradition of his own work; he saw the Chair he had occupied so long, worthily filled; he himself was engaged to the very last in work that had always held for him the most intense interest; and death, when it came, came suddenly and painlessly within the precincts of his own loved College.

R. L. TURNER.

In the field of numismatics Rapson's work is distinguished by accuracy and completeness. His first book on the subject is "Indian Coins" in Bühler's *Grundriss* (1897) which summarizes what was then known of Indian numismatics for the period before the Muslim conquest of northern India. It

is an admirable guide to the subject and is specially valuable for its bibliographical references.

In 1908, after he had left the Museum, was published his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Satraps, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the "Bodhi" Dynasty*, in the British Museum. A few years earlier (*ZDMG.*, 1902, 1093) Vincent Smith had grappled with the difficult problems of the Andhra Dynasty and coinage, and in this catalogue Rapson amplified the story. Rapson himself had previously published studies of the coins of the Western Satraps, editing a paper on the subject by Bhagavanlal Indraji in *JRAS.*, 1890, and making a further original contribution in 1899. The catalogue is an excellent piece of work which still remains the standard account of the dynasty.

His three chapters in *Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, on (xxi) Indian Native States after the period of the Maurya Dynasty, (xxii) on the successors of Alexander the Great, and (xxiii) on the Scythian and Parthian invaders, are models of the treatment of numismatic material for history where written records are scanty or fail completely.

In addition to these finished studies he published a number of interesting papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, in thi *Journal*, and in *Corolla Numismatica*, on the Gupta coins in the Bodleian and on rare or inedited coins and seals in the British Museum and in private collections.

While editing the Cambridge History Rapson published a little book on *Ancient India* (1914) which is an excellent primer on the subject, with valuable notes on topography. His work as editor of vol. i, which appeared in 1922, is marked by all the special qualities which distinguished him. The second volume on Medieval India was planned by him and much work had been done by him on the chapters written by other contributors. His untimely death before he had completed all the chapters which he intended to write himself has caused a great loss to the work.

R. BURN.

Father Eric Norman Bromley Burrows, S.J.

It is with a grave feeling of loss that we mourn the death of a distinguished Assyriologist, Father Burrows, in a motor accident on 23rd June.

He was born in 1882 and educated at Felsted (where he was in Gepp's House from May, 1897 to July, 1902), and Keble College, Oxford (1902–1905), becoming a Catholic in 1904 after taking his B.A. degree, and entering the Society of Jesus in 1905. His peculiar flair for learning Oriental languages was to make him one of the best Assyriologists in England, and in this pursuit he betook himself to the Near East (in 1912) to the French University at Beyrut, where he could study these tongues both living and dead. Subsequently (in 1917), after being ordained at St. Benno's in Wales, he was sent to the Biblical Institute at Rome, where he was able to devote himself still more to what was to be his life-work.

He was one of those fortunate Orientalists who make opportunities to study their science in the field as well as at home. In 1924–5 he was a member of the Weld and Field Expedition to Kish, and in 1926–30 of the British Museum and University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Ur of the Chaldees under Sir Leonard Woolley. To the results of this latter expedition he contributed a large volume, his work being on the archaic texts, and herein he presents an admirable series of neatly copied tablets with a table of 420 early signs. He was also a contributor to the *Journal* of this Society.

Personally he was a most charming and most modest man, and one has only to read his work on the archaic Ur texts to realize what a scholar has been lost by his death. Had he been spared, there is little doubt that, having now settled himself in the saddle, he would have gone on producing similar excellent works for another decade at least. Assyriology has suffered a grave loss.

R. Campbell Thompson.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Vol. xvii, 1936–7.

Albright, W. F. The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim.

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Jackson, A. V. W. The Doctrine of the Bolos in Manichæan Eschatology.

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Dimand, M. S. Samanid Stucco Decoration from Nishapur (with one illustration).

Edgerton, F. Rome and (?) Antioch in the Mahābhārata.

Goetze, A. The Tenses of Ugaritic.

Gray, L. H. Yasna LVII: An Essay in Text-Reconstruction.

The Anthropological Society of Bombay. Jubilee Volume, 1937.

Cadell, P., Sir. Who are the Descendants of the People of Mohen-jo-Daro ?

Heras, H. Tree Worship in Mohenjo-Daro.

Enthoven, R. E. The Ethnographical Survey of India.

Schmidt, W. The Oldest Implements of Man.

Ghurye, G. S. Physical Data from Kathiawar.

Iyer, L. A. Krishna. Caste in Travancore.

Annals of Archæology and Anthropology. Vol. xxv, Nos. 1–2. June, 1938.

Garstang, J. Explorations in Cilicia. The Neilson Expedition. Preliminary Report II (*concluded*). (With plates v–xvii.)

Archiv Orientální. Vol. x, Nos. 1–2, June, 1938.

Hrozný, B. Les Lettres " hittites "-hiéroglyphiques a- d, écrites sur plomb. (Avec 6 planches.)

Gordon, C. H., and Lacheman, E. R. The Nuzu Menology.

Schwarz, B. On the " Glossenkeil " in Hittite.

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Archiv für Orientforschung. Band xii, Heft 3, Berlin, 1938.

Frankfort, H. The Burney Relief (with 5 figures).

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